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MIXING THE RACES IN HAWAII

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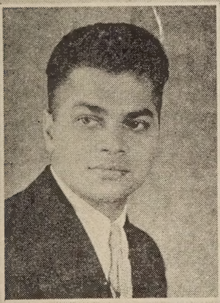
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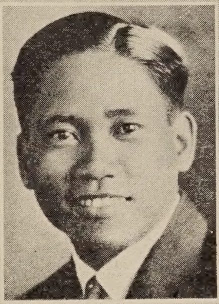
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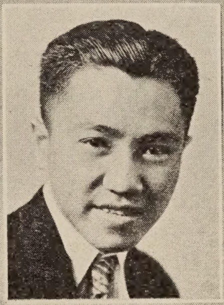
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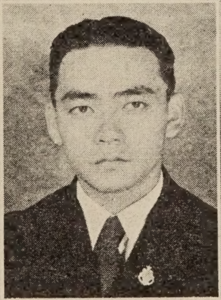
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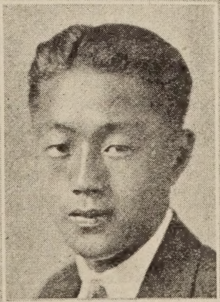
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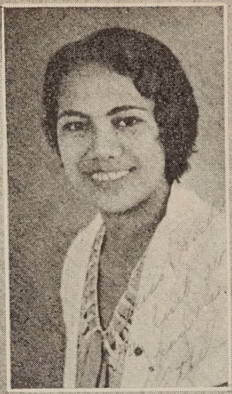
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

1.—Hawaiian
2.—Hawaiian
3.—Hawaiian-Chinese
4.—Hawaiian-Scotch-Irish
5.—Anglo-Saxon-Italian
6.—Portuguese
7.—East-Indian
8.—Filipino
9.—Chinese
10.—Japanese
11.—Japanese
12.—Korean



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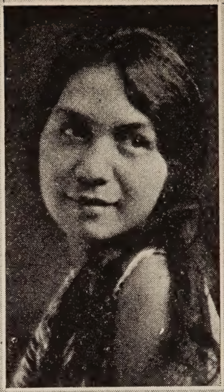

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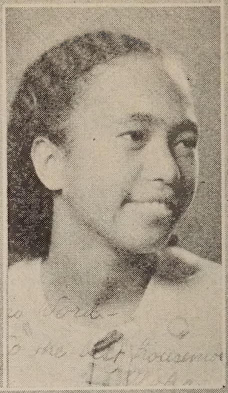

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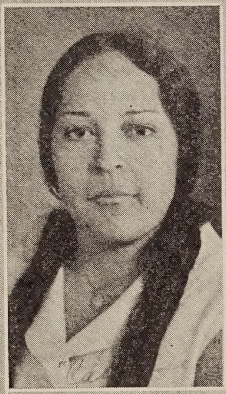

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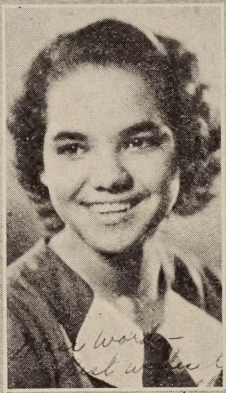

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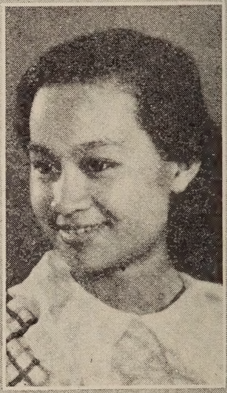

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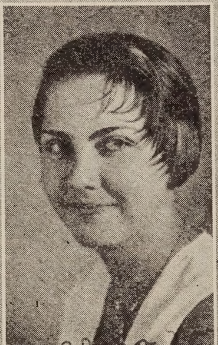

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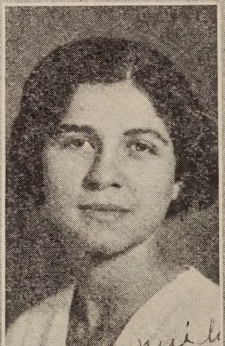

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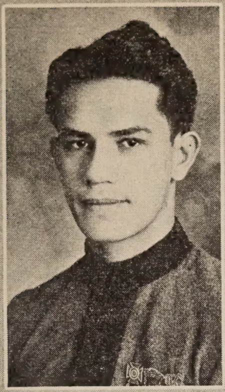
KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

1.—8/8 Hawaiian
2.—7/8 Hawaiian, 1/8 English
3.—6/8 Hawaiian, 1/16 French, 1/16 Hindu,
1/16 Negro, 1/16 Arabian
4.—5/8 Hawaiian, 1/8 Portuguese,
2/8 Caucasian
5.—4/8 Hawaiian, 1/8 Chinese,
3/8 Caucasian
6.—3/8 Hawaiian, 4/8 Chinese,
1/8 English
7.—2/8 Hawaiian, 6/8 Scotch
8.—1/8 Hawaiian, 7/8 Scotch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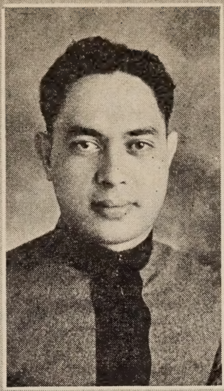
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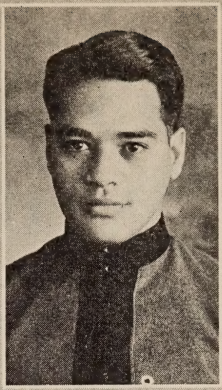
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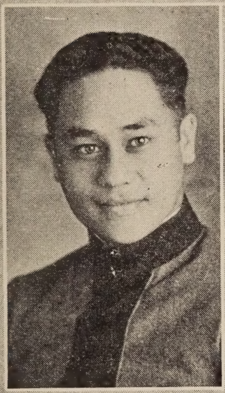
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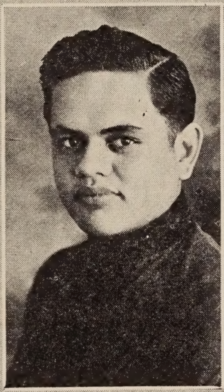
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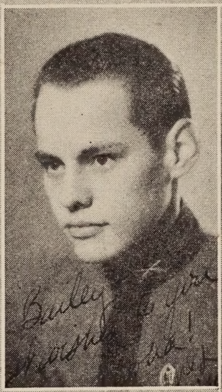
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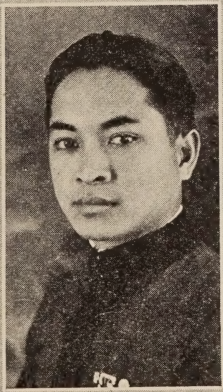
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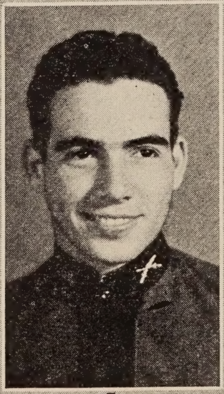
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KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOL FOR BOYS

1.—Full Hawaiian
2.—⅞ Hawaiian, ⅛ Caucasian
3.—¾ Hawaiian, ¼ Japanese
4.—⅝ Hawaiian, ⅜ Caucasian
5.—½ Hawaiian, ½ Caucasian
6.—⅜ Hawaiian, ⅝ Caucasian
7.—¼ Hawaiian, ¼ Caucasian
8.—⅛ Hawaiian, ⅞ Caucasian

MIXING THE RACES IN HAWAII

A Study of the Coming Neo-Hawaiian American Race

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BY
SIDNEY L. GULICK

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To
All Kindred Spirits
who seek
Interracial Understanding,
Appreciation and
Goodwill

Foreword

Hawaii is a land of many wonders. But the most striking of them all is its people. Here are some 400,000 men, women and children, of many races, languages, social traditions and varieties of moral and religious ideals, living together in remarkable harmony. Here a poly-racial, poly-chrome, poly-linguistic, poly-religious and thoroughly heterogeneous population is being transformed into a homogeneous people, speaking a common language—English—holding common political, ethical, social and religious ideas and ideals, putting into practice with remarkable success the principles of racial equality, and maintaining a highly effective, democratic form of government.

The races are actually growing together—fusing biologically—although not without certain tensions and problems. A new race is in the making.

The physiological characteristics of the new race will be a mixture of Hawaiian, Caucasian and Asiatic, while its psychological, social, political and moral characteristics will be distinctly American. The eminent anthropologists, Professors Boaz of Columbia and Hooten of Harvard, lecturing recently on the characteristics of an "American," agree, as summarized in the New York Times,[1] that "He is not blond or dark. He is not tall or short. He is not German or Irish, French or Italian, Jewish or British. He is a man who has been woven into the American social fabric, who thinks as his fellow citizens do about accepted institutions, government, morality, honor, and who conducts himself as they do. By his deeds he is to be judged—not by his looks or geographic origin."

The present study is an effort to describe the various factors that are "weaving" the poly-racial elements of the population of Hawaii into a single unified people—the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

What are the forces and influences that are bringing this about? And what are the problems?

The various factors—racial, historical, educational and political, social and religious—that are fusing these heterogeneous elements are here presented and discussed. The main hindrances to the melting-pot process are examined and an attempt is made to look forward into the future. Our aim is to present with scientific objectivity the multiform forces at work in these Islands. The facts and interpretations herein presented merit, we believe, the consideration of serious-minded men and women who desire to gain an intelligible and realistic insight into what is actually happening.

---

[1] References to sources are given in the Appendix.

It is not always easy to steer our course between the Scylla of optimistic eulogy with rosy prophecies, and the Charybdis of a cynical point of view. Jack London's "The House of Pride," and Miss McKee's "The Lord's Anointed," are vitiated by their subtle prejudices and unscientific spirit. The authors belittle with scornful ridicule altruistic efforts for promoting the idealistic way of life among the people. They apparently, were not interested in nor sympathetic with the purposes of the missionaries to banish gross and degrading superstitions, to promote a wholesome, well-founded and uplifting religious and moral life, and to secure for the Hawaiian people social justice and political righteousness.

In the interest of brevity and effectiveness the writer has sought, in his chapter on Other Factors, to bring together into a single section the various influences that are, or seem to be, adverse. If the earlier chapters of the book appear to be over-optimistic, the reader may expect to have the astigmatism corrected by the less optimistic facts and considerations presented in that chapter.

The latest population statistics, those for June 30, 1937, are given on page 214.

To Louisa Clark, my niece, I am indebted for the cover design—a symbolic representation of the Polynesian mother-race, holding aloft with yearning aspiration the racial mixing bowl, which is Hawaii. Into this poi-bowl pour racial ingredients from the East and from the West, and out of the bowl is coming forth a new human type—

The Neo-Hawaiian-American Race.

September 14, 1937 SIDNEY L. GULICK

Acknowledgments

The indebtedness of the writer is too great to be easily told. References to books and pamphlets will be found throughout the text and in footnotes. I wish also to express my personal appreciation of the generous assistance rendered by a large number of busy men and women who have read the manuscript in whole or in part and have made many highly valuable suggestions. For the opinions expressed I alone am responsible. Although great effort has been made to secure accuracy in the statistical and historical material yet errors have doubtless crept in. The writer would greatly appreciate having his attention called to such as may be discovered.

To the following persons I wish to express sincere thanks for friendly help.

Professor Romanzo Adams	University of Hawaii
Professor S. D. Porteus	University of Hawaii
Professor Gregg M. Sinclair	University of Hawaii
Professor K. C. Kondo	McKinley High School
President D. L. Crawford	University of Hawaii
President O. F. Shepard	Punahou School
Principal Homer F. Barnes	Kamehameha Schools
Major General H. A. Drum	Commander, U. S. Army in Hawaii
Honorable W. F. Frear	Former Governor of Hawaii
Honorable Oren E. Long	Superintendent, Dept. of Public Instruction
Mr. Orrin W. Robinson	Deputy Supt., Department Pub. Instruction
Mrs. Maud C. Sisson	Principal, Royal School
Miss M. Hester Lemon	Bureau of Vital Statistics
Rev. J. Leslie Dunstan, Ph.D.	Central Union Church
Rev. John P. Erdman	General Secretary, Hawaiian Evangelical Assn.
Rev. W. H. Fry	Methodist Episcopal Mission
The Venerable Ernest H. Hunt	International Buddhist Institute
Rev. H. H. Leavitt, D.D.	Central Union Church
The Rt. Rev. S. Harrington Littell, S.T.D.	Protestant Episcopal Church
Rev. Castle H. Murphy	Church of Latter-Day Saints
Rev. Paul T. Tajima	Oriental Library
Father H. Valentine, SS.CC.	Roman Catholic Church
Rev. Paul B. Waterhouse	Honolulu Bible Training School
Rev. Galen R. Weaver	Church of the Crossroads
Mr. Ralph G. Cole	Y. M. C. A.
Mr. Roy M. Frisen	Author
Miss Elizabeth Harris	Week-Day Schools of Religious Education
Mr. Albert F. Judd	Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate
Dr. W. W. Krauss	Fellow, Swedish Academy of Science
Nils P. Larsen, M.D.	Queen's Hospital
Mr. Umetaro Okumura	Makiki Castle Church
Mr. A. K. Powlison	Recreation Commission of Honolulu
Mr. N. Sonoda	Japanese Chamber of Commerce
Mr. Theodore Richards, L.H.D.	Philanthropist

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A Picture Tour of the Hawaiian Islands. Playground and Wonderland of the Pacific, is probably the best brief collection of pictures of scenic Hawaii ($1.50). Two volumes of superb photographs, hand colored, have been issued by the expert photographer, Ray Jerome Baker, *Hawaiian Yesterdays* and *Familiar Hawaiian Flowers.* They sell respectively for $25 and $50.

To Mr. Duke P. Kahanamoku we are indebted for the courtesy of sitting for the photograph taken especially for this volume and also to Mr. Baker for his courtesy in taking it.

Chapter I

Hawaii and Its People

Wonders of Hawaii

HAWAII is a land of many wonders—rugged mountains and amazing volcanoes, dead and live—restless waves from the boundless deep, foaming over outlying coral reefs, dashing themselves in ceaseless fury on the age-old beds of coral and coal-black lava—perpetual tradewinds, throwing back over the shoulders of the swelling waves, rank upon rank, the foam of their snow-white crests like the manes of racing horses—glistening white beaches of coral sand nestling between jagged cliffs—luxuriant vegetation assembled from the tropics of all the world—myriads of gorgeous flowers—coconut and royal palms tossing their graceful arms to and fro in ceaseless prayers to heaven—canyons rivaling in color those of Arizona and Colorado—and an atmosphere "soft as velvet" inducing a spirit of quiet restfulness for weary travelers from other lands.

But the most wonderful of all Hawaii's wonders is the people. "Nowhere else on earth is so remarkable a combination of races living together with so much good will and mutual understanding as in Hawaii."[1] Hawaii has been described as an "ethnological museum"—"a sociological laboratory"—"a storehouse of racial dynamite"—"an international tinderbox"—"the meeting point of warring races"—"the westernmost outpost of Occidental civilization as it faces the Orient in the coming struggle of the East and the West"—and "the strategic frontier" between the United States and Japan.

The Genesis of a New Race

To the writer more interesting and significant than any of these characterizations is the fact that in Hawaii a remarkable synthesis of the most diverse races is going forward. Here a Hawaiian-Caucasian-Chinese-Japanese-Portuguese-Puerto Rican-Korean-Filipino race of enthusiastic Americans is in process of "becoming." Hawaii is in truth a gentle "melting pot" that is actually fusing into one the most diverse of human bloods. For hundreds of thousands of years—perhaps millions—the human race has been undergoing, through more or less rigid segregation, a process of divergent evolution, biological, psychological and sociological. Now, here in Hawaii, the process is in "reverse". Rigid segregation is no more. Intimate relations and contacts take its place. A homogeneous people speaking a single language is coming into being under the most favorable conditions. A polyglot population of many races, each racial group possessed of its own marked mental, social, moral and spiritual traditions and customs mutually and profoundly different, is being transformed into a unified people. Here under circumstances which can be accurately observed, is taking place the fact of race-genesis.

The Alleged Menace of Asiatics

Viewed from the political angle there are those who see in the large numbers of Asiatics in Hawaii, and especially in the Japanese, a menace to the interests and the welfare of the rest of the population and a threat to the policies and ambitions of the great American Republic. "On the surface," said a lady, "all looks fair and promising. But once you really get under the surface you will find that the 150,000 Japanese in these Islands are cherishing the dream that some time—perhaps not so far distant—Hawaii will be added to Japan's expanding Empire. These Japanese in our midst are a menace. They are not to be trusted. Provision must be made for dealing with them in our plans for national defense."

But there are also found among intelligent men and women, old-time residents intimately acquainted with the entire situation, and in close daily contact with the Japanese, those who take just the opposite point of view. "Whatever may have been Japanese dreams of national expansion after the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05) a generation ago," they say, "and whatever Japanese in Japan may be dreaming today about the expansion of their Empire, the vast majority of the Japanese in Hawaii are quite content with the present relations of the Islands as a part of the United States. They have no desire to see Hawaii come under the rule of Japan. They realize that they and especially their children are now and will be in the future better off in a Hawaii that is part of the United States than they would be in a Hawaii possessed by Japan."

Wisdom of Hawaii's Leaders

The present writer has had rather unusual opportunities during his recent visit to the home of his fathers to look into these various questions. He is particularly impressed with the wisdom and the amazing success of the measures which have been followed for more than a century by the successive governments and administrations, supported by the outstanding leaders of the various races, in begetting out of the poly-lingual and poly-racial population, a psychologically homogeneous people, and especially a people thoroughly and loyally American. This study has been the more incisive and also the more interesting for the reason that in 1915 the writer had a unique opportunity for intensive study of this problem. At that time he visited the principal sugar plantations making a careful survey of the social facts. These were published in a pamphlet entitled "The Japanese Problem in Hawaii." It contained suggestions for improving the conditions of life and work of plantation laborers with a view to forestalling the aggravation of certain difficulties that had already begun to appear.

What Is Really Happening

Evidence is now abundant that the various racial groups in Hawaii are rapidly becoming one people, with one language, characteristically American in mentality and spirit, and with every prospect of becoming in due time, if conditions continue favorable, a biologically homogeneous people. The distinctions between Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese and "other Caucasion" ancestry will ultimately be practically forgotten—although they will doubtless long remain as a tradition, just as in continental America the blood of large sections of our citizens is already so intermingled that multitudes can no longer claim to be English, or Scotch, or Irish, French, German, Italian or Scandinavian.

So significant is the process taking place, so important is it that the favorable conditions should be continued and improved, and so urgent is it that Americans generally should know what is taking place in order to remove their anxiety regarding the questions of national security and national defense, that it may not be without value to record with some concrete detail the existing situation.

A Preliminary Survey

The first impressions of a traveler, though necessarily superficial, nevertheless have real value. Tourists and casual visitors with only the vaguest notions of the history and characteristics of the Hawaiian Islands and its people are invariably surprised by what they see on landing in Honolulu. Here the East and West are in immediate contact—Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Caucasians, and the rest, freely and apparently happily mingling and doing business with one another on a basis so far as the tourist can see absolutely free from race discrimination and race prejudice. There are no officially race-segregated districts in Honolulu—a city of some 145,000 people. Caucasian stores, Chinese stores, Japanese stores, often stand side by side. While the vast majority of the people one meets on the streets are dressed in the style of Occidentals, the faces show that only a minority are Caucasian, the majority being members of the brown and yellow races. The picturesque costumes of Orientals are frequently seen yet they attract no special attention. Oriental women and girls walk the streets dressed often in the latest Occidental styles with heads up after the most approved pattern of Anglo-Saxons and Europeans. In the buses and trams perfect freedom exists for every race. School children play together in the playgrounds with no apparent consciousness of race. Kimonoed Japanese, mother-hubbarded Hawaiians, dapper youth of all races and both sexes, adepts in the use of rouge, lip-stick, and finger and toenail decorations, chewing gum and swinging their arms in truly Yankee fashion, walk the street and shop in the stores side by side, none of them in the least appreciating the remarkable sociological phenomenon they are exhibiting. To them race differences are as natural and normal as are brown eyes, blue eyes, and grey eyes in a New England village.

Facial Expression

A visible sign of what is taking place is the development by Hawaiian-born youth of Oriental parentage of the Occidental type of facial expression—vivacious, frank, open and self-revealing. This facial type is in marked contrast to the Oriental type—stolid, stoical, reserved, and puzzling, often described by Westerners as mask-like.

These two types of faces are the products of two corresponding types of cultures—the western, characterized by freedom, naturalness, spontaneity, optimism, energy, activity, aggression and desire for self-expression,—the Eastern, repressive, conventional, stoical, pessimistic, gentle, contemplative, patient, and not inclined to reveal one's inner states of feeling and thought.

Children of Asiatic parentage, educated in the poly-racial schools of Hawaii, inevitably acquire the characteristic temper and tempo of Hawaiian-American life. Delivered from the everlasting social repressions and conventions of their ancestral heritage, in daily contact with vivacious Hawaiian and Occidenal children, and deeply influenced by American movies, children of Oriental parents spontaneously adopt the free and easy manners of their environment. They early learn by unconscious imitation to use the muscles of their faces, as American children do, to express the fleeting emotions and ideas of the moment. Eager joyousness in play and sports and conversation beget facial expressiveness, which the stoical, self-repressive life of the Orient does not produce.

The same may be said also about their general manners. The West is free and easy-going, careless of forms, conventions and meticulous etiquette. The East is quite the reverse, being minutely controlled and disciplined by rigid social custom and personal effort. Asiatic children, reared in the Hawaiian-American cultural atmosphere, unconsciously, yet none-the-less effectively, follow the more agreeable free and easy ways of conduct and conversation. Hawaiian-born youth of Asiatic parentage have already acquired the Western type of face and social manners.

An Expert Investigator

A recent visitor describing his experiences in Honolulu says that he "went snooping alone" to see if he could not find underneath the surface the race-prejudice of which he had been assured. Here is how he described his discoveries.

> For two weeks we have prowled into every corner of Honolulu and in all our wanderings we have not seen the slightest evidence of racial hatred. Instead we have found a friendliness transcending that of any other place we have ever visited or lived in. Beginning right in our hotel, the Halekulani, we learned to our surprise that one of the clerks is Chinese and the other Japanese. The same with the service; the cooks are Chinese, and the waiters Japanese. Nor did we find the various races segregated into districts. The Catholic Church sits next to the Hokekyoji mission (Buddhist). Side by side we found Hawaiian and Haole (pronounced hah'-o-lay, Hawaiian for whites) stores and shops. Just as in Los Angeles you'll find Denver cleaners right beside the French laundry or Ye Boston Tea Room . . . If the Japanese store didn't have what Ye Real Ed wanted, the proprietor would say, "I think you can find it at Fou Chow's across the way; he carries brocades too!" Or the Chinese merchant would recommend an Hawaiian store for something it excelled in. Nor do they designate one another

> by race or nationality. Not even in the newspapers. A California reporter will tell how a Jewish peddler was beaten up by a lot of Irish ruffians or a Negro plumber went haywire; but over here you will read that Mr. Yat Choy was elected Captain of the ball team or Mr. Kea Kakanoh has just been appointed enforcement officer. And you should read the names of the various teams or better still watch them play. "Hey, Choo," calls Ito, the crew coach, "quicken your stroke; watch Mahinu in the seat ahead of you."

The writer of this racy article, Rob Wagner, then takes up the question of the alleged nationalism of the Japanese and declares that

> here in the Islands there is a second and even a third generation Japanese who have known nothing but American influence. You should see the "Salute to the Flag" at the public school. No continental American kids shout their loyalty with the gusto of these Hawaiian-Americans. They even know the second verse of the Star Spangled Banner—than which patriotism can rise no higher. . . . One of the Japanese waiters at the Halekulani, just returned from a visit to Japan said, "I don't like those people over there; they bow too much." . . . . We saw a wonderful pageant that was utterly Japanese, but the moment it broke up the youngsters stepped out like Hollywood high school girls and made for the coca colas. We talked to many of them and are convinced that by and large all of these young people are as proud of their Americanism as are the Swedes of Minnesota or the Armenians of the San Joaquin valley. Indeed, much more so, as these are their Islands. "I own my home here," says the dining steward, "I have my wife here and plenty of children, all good American" . . . . Our house-boy assured us that the principal objection of intermarriage is linguistic. "Old folks don't like children to marry some one they can't talk to. Bye and bye, 25, 30 years, much more marry. My boy marry Chinese girl—all right; we all speak English." . . . . No doubt Nordic egoists, political opportunists, and business buccaneers, will go right on trying to stir up racial animosities in the Hawaiian Islands. But we doubt if it will ever be done.[2]

Judgment of a University Lecturer

During the early summer of 1935 the Ninth Annual Conference of New Americans was held in Honolulu at which several significant addresses were made by outstanding leaders. One of the speakers was the late Mr. Harry Carr, special lecturer at the Summer School of the University of Hawaii, director and a brilliant member of the *Los Angeles Times* editorial staff. From his address we take the following sentences:

> You read in the newspapers about the Japanese menace from time to time. Please remember that newspapers must interest their readers. Usually there is enough exciting news on the Atlantic seaboard to keep

> the front pages filled. Where there is a dearth of news, some newspapers pick on the Japanese peril. That is the only explanation I can give you of some of the harsh things that have been said about you . . . . It is not easy to deceive a newspaperman. From my own observations at the University of Hawaii and wherever and whenever opportunity offered, I conclude that Japanese-American citizens here are not only willing to die but to live for their country. It is a dedication and consecration to the cause of democracy.
>
> I have had unusual opportunity to probe into the minds of Hawaiian youth. And I want you to know that I shall go back to the mainland with a new humility of spirit. Hawaii has taught me something new in the spiritual significance of life, something that truly has changed every fibre of my soul. I have become convinced that here in the Pacific we are on the threshold of a new cultural era and I feel that you, young men and women, are the advance scouts of that movement. Further I feel that out of this melting pot that is Hawaii there will arise a new world genius.[3]

Lei and Kamehameha Days

A first acquaintance with the people as a whole might well be to see them on Lei and Kamehameha Days, May 1st and June 11th. On Lei Day they are garlanded by the thousand as they view the Queen of the Day with her court. These young beauties are selected to give grace and glamour to the festival. In many schools and other groups throughout the Islands, Lei Queens are chosen, many of them from ancient distinguished families, to serve as the centers of the day's festivities.

Kamehameha Day, celebrating the births of Kamehameha I and King Kalakaua, is the occasion for the most colorful parade of the year. A Hawaiian "Queen" surrounded by brilliantly clothed Princesses—all mounted on prancing horses of different colors—constitute the chief attraction of the parade and also at the water-sports. Six Aides come from the six main Islands, each representative bedecked with the colors and flowers of their respective Islands—Red for Hawaii, Rose for Maui, Purple for Kauai, Orange for Oahu, Green for Molokai, and Yellow for Lanai. Floats depicting Hawaiian history, hula celebrities, noted singers and musicians, numerous brass bands, famous feather cloaks worn only by chiefs of high rank, rare kahilis the insignia of Royalty, and other striking mementoes peculiar to Hawaii render the occasion one of spectacular interest.

On these two days the people turn out *en masse,* of all races, hues, and ages, dressed in their gayest and wreathed with smiles. Truly, a wonderful sight.

Lei Day Queen

Chapter II

Sketch of Hawaiian History

Origin of the Polynesian Race

TO APPRECIATE what is happening in Hawaii today in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race, we naturally begin with a sketch of the history of the people.[1] The Polynesians, of which the Hawaiians constitute one branch, are a subgroup of the so-called Europoids of South Western Asia. They seem to have traveled eastward through South India until, after a long period of wanderings, they reached their present habitat in the eastern Islands of the Pacific. The stream which reached Hawaii came probably from Raiatea (Tahiti) 500 A. D. During the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, intercourse was resumed with Tahiti, some 2,000 miles distant, by huge sailing canoes. Chiefs and priests came from those islands who intermarried with the reigning Hawaiian families. Both classes became powerful, "tabus" grew increasingly severe, and human sacrifices more frequent. Then followed long centuries of tribal wars and rebellions, due to pressure of population, to the rapacity of the rulers and to dynastic ambitions and jealousies.

Hawaiian Characteristics

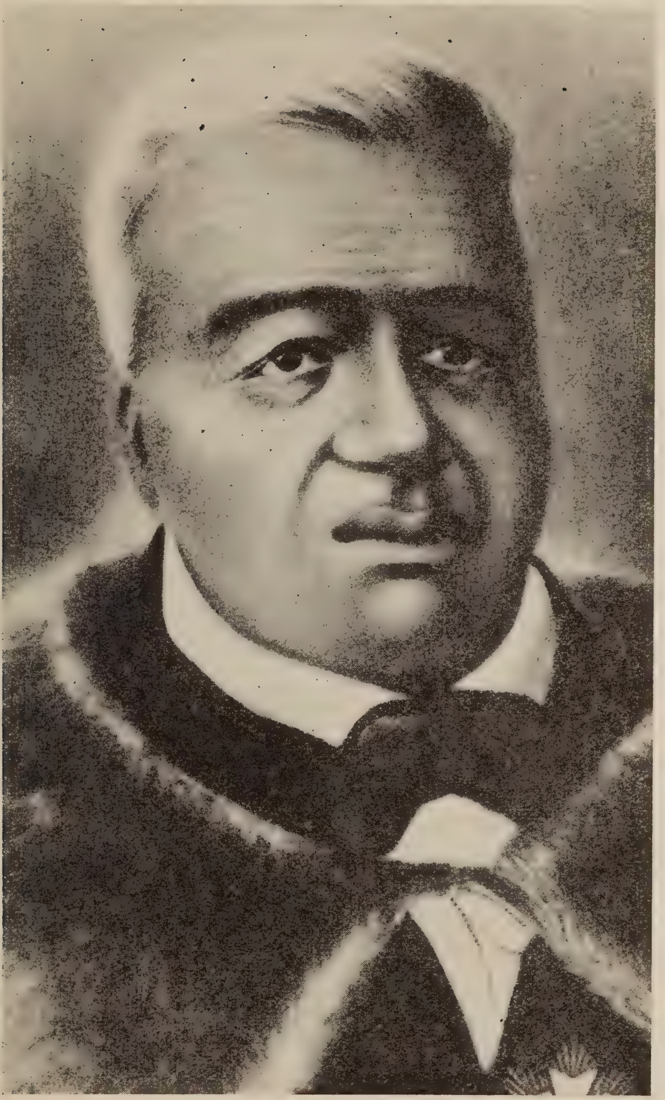
The Hawaiians are a brown race, with straight or wavy black hair, attractive features and large, fine physique. The chiefs were physically superior to the common people, often weighing from 300 to 500 pounds. Their mentality also was superior. Polygamy and polyandry were practiced, especially among the chiefs. Rank descended mainly through the mother. The language was soft and musical. Its sounds are represented by only twelve Roman letters, five vowels, a, e, i, o, and u, and seven consonants, h, k, l, m, n, p, and w. Each syllable consists of a vowel, or of a consonant followed by a vowel. Hence there are only forty syllables for more than 20,000 words. The Hawaiians were fond of oratory, poetry, history, story-telling, chants, riddles, conundrums, and proverbs, and paid much attention to pronunciation. They were without metals. Their feather-work has not been excelled. Canoes were out-rigger or double, sometimes 100 feet long. Hawaiians have hardly been surpassed as sailors, fishermen or swimmers. They were skillful navigators through close observation of the stars. They had remarkable knowledge of plants and animals, were great warriors, using spears, javelins, clubs and slings, but neither bows nor shields. They excelled in athletics, boxing, wrestling, surf-boarding, bowling and running, and were fond of music, having string and wind instruments, including a nose-flute but no mouth-flute. The famous ukulele is of Portuguese origin. They had several varieties of hula, some noble and some lascivious. Their proverbial courteous, generous and hospitable spirit has markedly affected the modern mixed population of the Islands.

They worshipped four principal gods and innumerable lesser ones. All objects and forces had their gods or spirits. Human sacrifices occurred on important occasions. Priests and sorcerers were potent. There were "cities of refuge." Cannibalism was unknown but infanticide was prevalent. In general the nobility and the priesthood grew increasingly tyrannical, the common people more and more degraded; destruction of life was frightful; property was insecure; intricate and oppressive tabus bore heavily upon the masses, especially upon the women, and became largely a matter of arbitrariness and favoritism.

Beginnings of Contact with the Occident

The Islands were discovered by Captain Cook, January 18, 1778. On his return the next year in an affray with the natives he was killed. There followed a period of 42 years of increasing intercourse with European adventurers. It was characterized by political consolidation, moral decay, and religious disintegration.

Kamehameha I, the most striking figure in Hawaiian history, came to the throne of one of the four kingdoms (Hawaii) in 1782. Equipping himself better than his foes with vessels, firearms and aides, foreign and native, he conquered most of the main islands by 1795 and secured the others by cession in 1810. He organized the government, checked oppression, suppressed crime, encouraged industry, eliminated Spanish pirates and thwarted Russian designs upon the Islands (1815-16). An epidemic, probably cholera, seriously ravaged the population in 1804.



Kamehameha the Great

Helpful foreign influences were exerted by such voyagers as Vancouver (1792-4) and such residents as John Young, Isaac Davis and others, who introduced useful plants and animals, and taught higher ideals. "They laid the foundations upon which missionairies and other later arrivals builded." But Botany-Bay convicts, pirates, buccaneers, beach-combers, and other adventurers, brought firearms, venereal diseases, gin and whiskey, and vices of all kinds. The King treated foreigners well but combatted their vices. He unsuccessfully sought for teachers of Christianity. He adhered to the Hawaiian religion but lessened its severity. The last human sacrifices took place in 1807. Shortly after the King's death, May 8, 1819, as a result of foreign influence, good and bad, the old religious system was abolished under the leadership of his favorite Queen, Kaahumanu, and of his Queen of highest rank, Keopuolani, not, however, without a bloody battle (December 20, 1819), between the conservatives and the progressives.

The Period of Strong Missionary Influence

The third period of Hawaiian History began with the arrival of missionaries from New England, March 13, 1820.* The story of their reception, their influence and the Christianization of the people, is told in a later chapter. The first convert was Queen Keopuolani, the mother of the next two kings. Queen Kaahumanu, converted in 1826, was known after her conversion as "the new Kaahumanu," as strong for good as she had been haughty and cruel. Of the ten converts who joined the church in 1826, nine were chiefs. The two Queens were the strongest characters in the Islands.

Recognizing the weakness of his son, Liholiho, who became Kamehameha II upon his death, Kamehameha I had appointed Queen Kaahumanu premier with power almost equal to that of the King. The story of King Liholiho's visit to England and his death there will be told later on. Queen Kaahumanu thereupon became regent and served as such until her death in 1832, the new King being but an infant on the death of his father. She was succeeded as regent by Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha I and mother of the two Kame-

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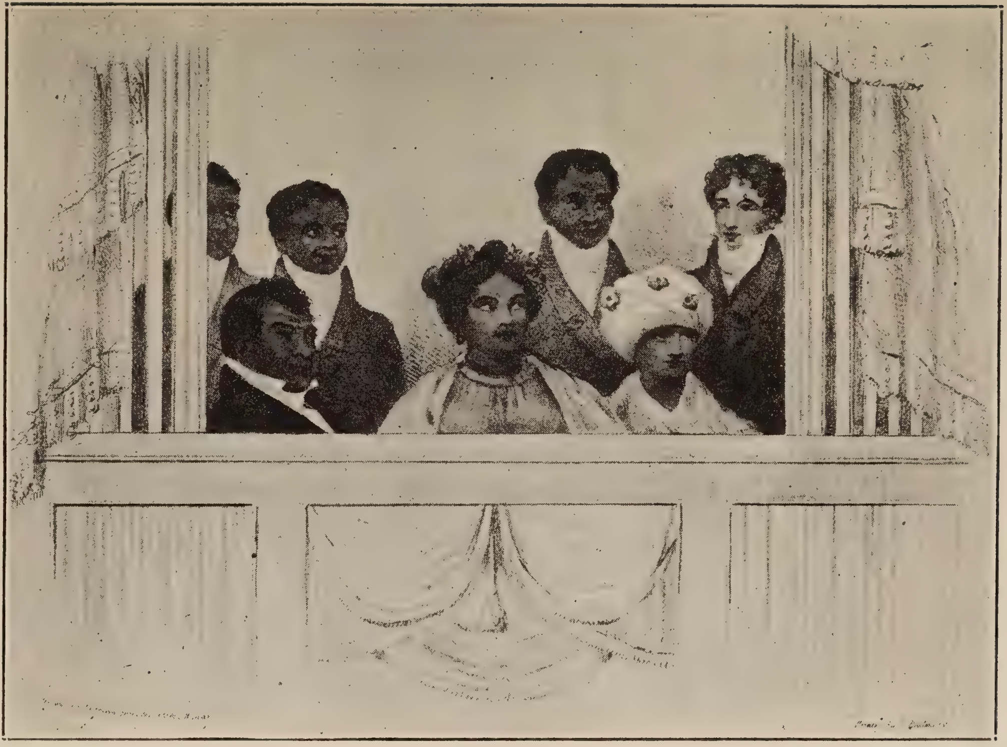
* "The Centennial Book" together with "The Friend" for May 1920 constitute source materials of the highest value for one who desires full and authentic information regarding the beginnings, the history and the results of this extraordinary missionary adventure. Particularly valuable are the historical chapters in the Centennial Book on "The Native Leaders of Hawaii" and "Missionaries Who Entered Government Service." The Centennial celebration program continued for two full weeks and included an open-air pageant on Rocky Hill, Punahou, presenting outstanding episodes in the "One Hundred Years of Christian Civilization in Hawaii"—recalling the golden age in Greek drama.



Kamehameha II with Queen and Retinue in London (1824) hamehas, IV and V, who both died without surviving offspring. These three noble women would have been a credit to any nation, and others also, such as Princess Kapiolani whose courageous defiance (1824) of Pele, goddess of the volcano Kilauea, is described in Chapter VIII, and Princess Pauahi (Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop), granddaughter of Kamehameha I, founder of the Kamehameha schools, who refused the crown.

The Struggle Between Progressive and Reactionary Forces

The first two decades after the arrival of the missionaries was a crucial period. Many of the white settlers opposed laws against drunkenness and licentiousness. They slandered the missionaries, made unjust claims against the government, insisted that they were not subject to Hawaiian law, attacked with arms the homes of missionaries and chiefs, and even sought to overthrow the government. The British at one time claimed that the Islands had become British territory and raised the British flag. Certain British, French and American consuls and naval officers gave their support to the lawless whites. But it should be said that there were also helpful foreign influences, both from residents and from visitors, such as Lord Byron of the British navy and cousin of the poet. Governmental need for wise counsel was so great that the Hawaiian Mission was induced to allow three of their number to give up missionary work and become government employees. They assisted the rulers in establishing a more systematic and efficient administration. Following a course of lectures on "Government," the King (Kamehameha III) promulgated in 1839-40, the Declaration of Rights, the Edict of Toleration, and the first Constitution. The first compilation of laws was published in 1842.

The Constitution, in Hawaiian, begins with the declaration that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth in unity and blessedness" and that "God has also bestowed certain rights alike on all men and all chiefs and all people of all lands." Following some general statements of fundamental principles come these words:—"It is therefore our fixed decree, I. That no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the work of the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of His work."

On the occasion of the raising of the Hawaiian flag after the British flag had been hauled down, the King declared that "The Life of the

Kamehameha III

Land is Perpetuated by Righteousness." This utterance has since been Hawaii's official motto. The details of those troublous times are too complicated to be given here, and are not needed for our purpose.

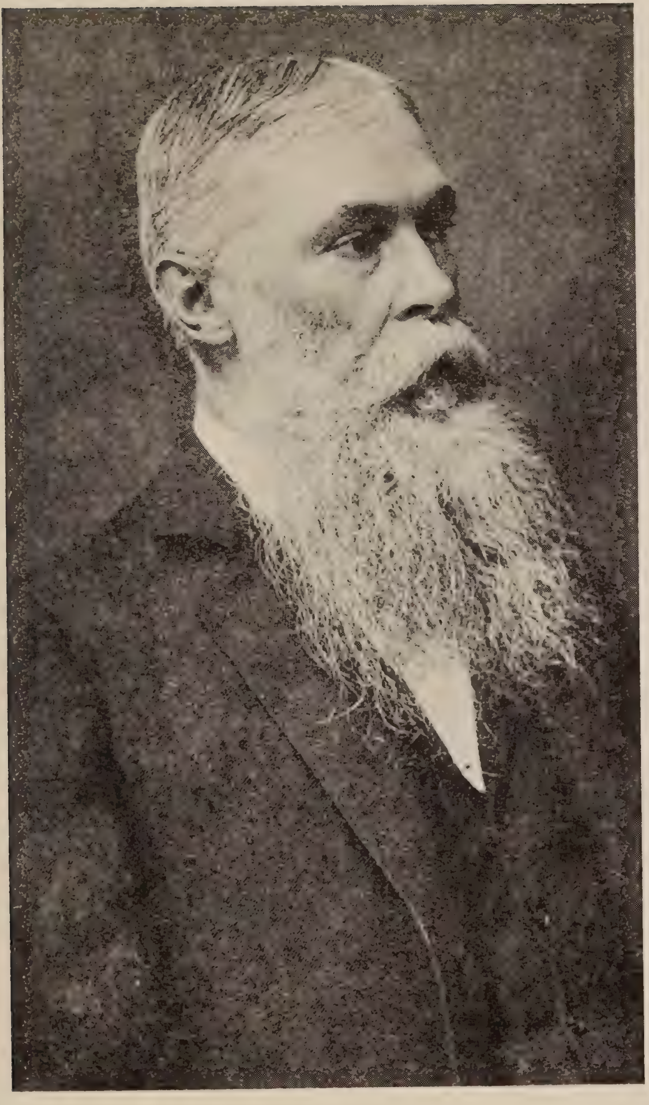
The Period of Reaction and Revolutions

Kamehamehas IV (1854-63) and V (1863-72) were both more or less reactionary and pro-British. The latter, after calling a Constitutional Convention and dismissing it because it would not follow his wishes, promulgated (1864) a new Constitution on his own unconstitutional authority. He authorized (1865) the licensing of "kahunas"—or heathen medicine men and witch-doctors. Every Christian pastor thenceforward had a village kahuna over against him, reviving the old superstitions and practices. Upon the King's death the Kamehameha dynasty came to an end. King Lunalilo, elected as being pro-American, lived but a year (1873-4) and was followed by King Kalakaua, also elected. His reign (1874-91) was decidedly reactionary. The old native leaders and the missionary fathers had by this time nearly all passed away. The King sought to restore the ancient autocratic, pre-constitutional order, with its heathen customs, absolutism and "divine right," accompanied by extravagance, corruption, personal interference in politics and fomentation of race feeling. He established (1886) the so-called Hawaiian Board of Health, which was largely an official organization of kahunas. These conditions resulted in a non-violent revolution led by the better elements among both the Hawaiians and the Whites. They compelled the King to issue a new Constitution (1887) providing for responsible government. Two years later an armed insurrection of reactionaries attempted unsuccessfully, to restore the old order. Under Queen Liliuokalani, sister of Kalakaua, the reactionaries gained more successes, until the progressives came to the conclusion that drastic measures were necessary. The Queen was deposed (January 17, 1893) and a Provisional Government set up with the avowed purpose of seeking annexation to the United States.

As annexation was not at once achieved, a Republic was established "with probably the most advanced Constitution ever adopted." Sanford B. Dole was chosen the first and only President.

Annexation to the United States

In connection with the Spanish-American war, the Congress of the United States accepted (1898) the Hawaiian offer of annexation. The Territorial Government was established by Act of Congress, April 30,



Governor Sanford B. Dole

1900, effective June 14th of that year. Sanford B. Dole was appointed the first Governor (1900-03). Already before annexation, industry had been pushed with energy, especially the cultivation of sugar cane. Shortage of labor for the plantations led the planters, with Government approval and under Government regulation, to bring in contract-laborers from China, Japan, and other lands. The great expansion of the sugar industry, however, and the large importation of laborers of many races took place after annexation with the favorable conditions due to having become a part of the United States.

Such, in brief, are the historical conditions that have laid the foundations for the coming into existence of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Chapter III

Racial Equality

Early Beginnings

THE PRACTICE of racial equality began early in the contacts of the Hawaiian people with White adventurers from other lands. From the side of the Hawaiians the Whites were obviously superior in ship-building and navigation and in the manufactured articles which they brought with them—clothing, iron implements of various kinds, and especially fire-arms. But when they discovered that Captain Cook was not a god but a mortal man, and when they observed that the actual life of the White adventurers was much like their own in matters of the daily routine and especially in regard to greed, lust, etc., etc., their first impulse to regard them as a superior race was abandoned.

But how did it happen that the Whites—especially the Anglo-Saxons—came to accept the Hawaiian race as equal to their own, especially in view of the racial superiority complexes and prejudices of the people from which they came?

The fullest discussion of that situation known to the writer is found in "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii"[1] by Professor Romanzo Adams. The answer to the question comes to light when one examines the actual experiences of those early adventurers and especially of those of them who settled down for permanent life among the Hawaiians.

Early Adventurers and Racial Equality

The King—Kamehameha I—a strong personality and an able ruler, says Professor Adams, found among the sailors and traders some who could give him substantial help in establishing his sway over all the islands and also in dealing with the foreigners. Those who could use fire-arms and build and operate ships were especially useful. The adventurers, on their side, gained substantial advantages by entering the King's service, for he conferred upon them honors and many privileges and gave them wives of high rank. They thus came to enjoy a social prestige they had never had in their home-lands. They were recognized as chiefs ,and their half-white children were accepted as members of the ruling class. By the help of these white settlers the King was better able to maintain order among his people and also to control the relations of the Whites with the natives ,and to regulate trade. For at that time the people were already sufficiently advanced to produce in fair quantities the commodities desired by ships sailing the north Pacific —fruits, vegetables, meats, salt, timber and especially sandal-wood— while the people were glad to get the articles brought by ships from America and Europe—cotton goods, iron utensils and other manufactured articles. Trade was mutually advantageous, and both sides found that their relations and operations were more satisfactory if they recognized the authority and regulations of the King.

"Since the King symbolized the dignity of the people as a whole," says Professor Adams, "the recognition of his authority, in a subtle way, involved for the people as a whole a status superior to what would have existed had there been no such authority." [2]

Although the foreigners did not show their respect for the King in the way required by the natives—by crawling into his presence on hands and knees—"they did show it in practical ways that were understood and accepted." Thus began from the very necessities of the situation the recognition of race equality in reality although it may be doubted if the doctrine had consciously arisen.

> The case of a high-born Scottish lad who ran away from home may serve as an example, says Professor Adams. He left home because he did not get along with his step-mother. He changed his name, taking the name of his own mother's father, thus symbolizing his ill-will toward his father. According to the stóry, he fought under Lord Nelson at Trafalgar. Eventually he reached Hawaii where he remained and probably never afterward had any communications with any one in Scotland. Because of his qualifications, King Kamehameha desired his services and so appointed him to positions of dignity and gave him a Hawaiian woman of chiefly rank to be his wife. As a man of special qualifications and as one closely associated with the King he could not fail to have prestige among the Hawaiians. As a man in the service of the King and as one taken into Hawaiian society, he could not assume the airs of racial superiority. His superiority, on the one side, was a matter of personal qualifications, and, on the other, a matter of accepting honor under the Hawaiian system and at the hands of Hawaiians. Through his children (there are over four hundred living descendants) he was permanently identified with the Hawaiians. He

> inevitably had to support the doctrine of racial equality if he responded in a normal way to the requirements of the situation.[3]

Missionaries and Racial Equality

But new conditions developed with the arrival of the missionaries in 1820. First of all they recognized the authority of the King by asking permission to live in the Islands and to teach the Christian religion. The request was granted, according to an old account, after careful consideration by the chiefs, and the King's other counsellors, among whom were some old white men who had married native women.

> But if the very existence of the mission, says Professor Adams, depended, for a time, on the goodwill of these founders of mixed-blood families, they (the missionaries) must have seen the wisdom of treating such families with respect. The very strategy of the missionary position required that they minimize race as such.[4]

From the very start the missionaries were accepted by the King and chiefs as teachers of a superior religion. This was of great advantage to the missionary cause, and also to the missionaries themselves. It, moreover, raised the status of all Whites, so far as they practiced the Christian way of life, putting them on a pedestal they could not otherwise have attained. Those Whites who flagrantly violated the ethical ideals of the "White man's religion," were inevitably brought under the moral condemnation of the better elements among the Native Hawaiian. In a subtle way this emphasized the emerging conceptions of racial equality.

It was essential, moreover, for the success of their program, that the missionaries should treat the King, the chiefs, and even the common people with genuine respect. Their personal conduct and spirit and the intrinsic value of their teaching soon won the confidence of the people and especially of the leaders. They became counsellors and advisors. Many chiefs entrusted the education of their children to the missionaries. They thus won the confidence and goodwill and the moral guidance of the more serious-minded elements among the people. There was no snobbish assumption by the missionaries of race superiority. Such superiority as they did claim they ascribed wholly to their religion. The fundamental postulate of their missionary enterprise was that all men are essentially brothers, children of a common Heavenly Father, all equally capable of becoming sons of God and of understanding, believing and practicing the Christian religion. When converts lapsed from the faith or fell into sin, it was not ascribed to their race but to their personal failure.

Quite rapidly, moreover, individual Hawaiians who showed special aptitudes were invited to become teachers in schools and Sunday Schools and also to become lay and then regular preachers and evangelists. In due course Hawaiians were promoted to the pastorships, having equal ecclesiastical status with the missionaries, some of them proving themselves to be preachers of great eloquence and spiritual power. It was only thirty years after the first proclamation of the Gospel in Hawaii, that native pastors went as missionaries along with American missionaries to carry the gospel to the Caroline, Gilbert and other islands of the central Pacific.

Thus the spirit and the procedure of the missionaries rested on and expressed in practice the fundamental postulate of racial equality. All this helped maintain and even promote the self-respect and conscious feeling of race equality. The mutual respect and cooperation between the White religious leaders and the Hawaiian chiefs made possible that remarkable transformation of the people which will be described in a later chapter, which would have been quite unlikely had the missionaries assumed an arrogant attitude of race superiority. The very success of the missionary enterprise depended on the sincere belief in and practice by the missionaries of racial equality.

Ethical Struggle Between Christian and Non-Christian Forces

We need, however, to look somewhat more deeply into this question. The missionaries came mainly from New England and brought with them their White wives and their strict New England ethical ideals and their belief in monogamy and democracy. They naturally set up those standards for themselves and insisted that they should be followed also by the entire population, including both the other Whites and the native people. They exalted the social ideals and the "non-conformist" conscience of England and New England. They were typical New Englanders—quite free from the virus of race prejudice and arrogance already existing in Virginia and other slave-holding states. In the course of a few decades after their arrival, not a few Christian business men with their wives began to arrive and settle in the Islands. The moral and social practices of the most advanced sections of Christendom then became increasingly insisted upon by that portion of the community which was approved by the better elements among the native Hawaiians.

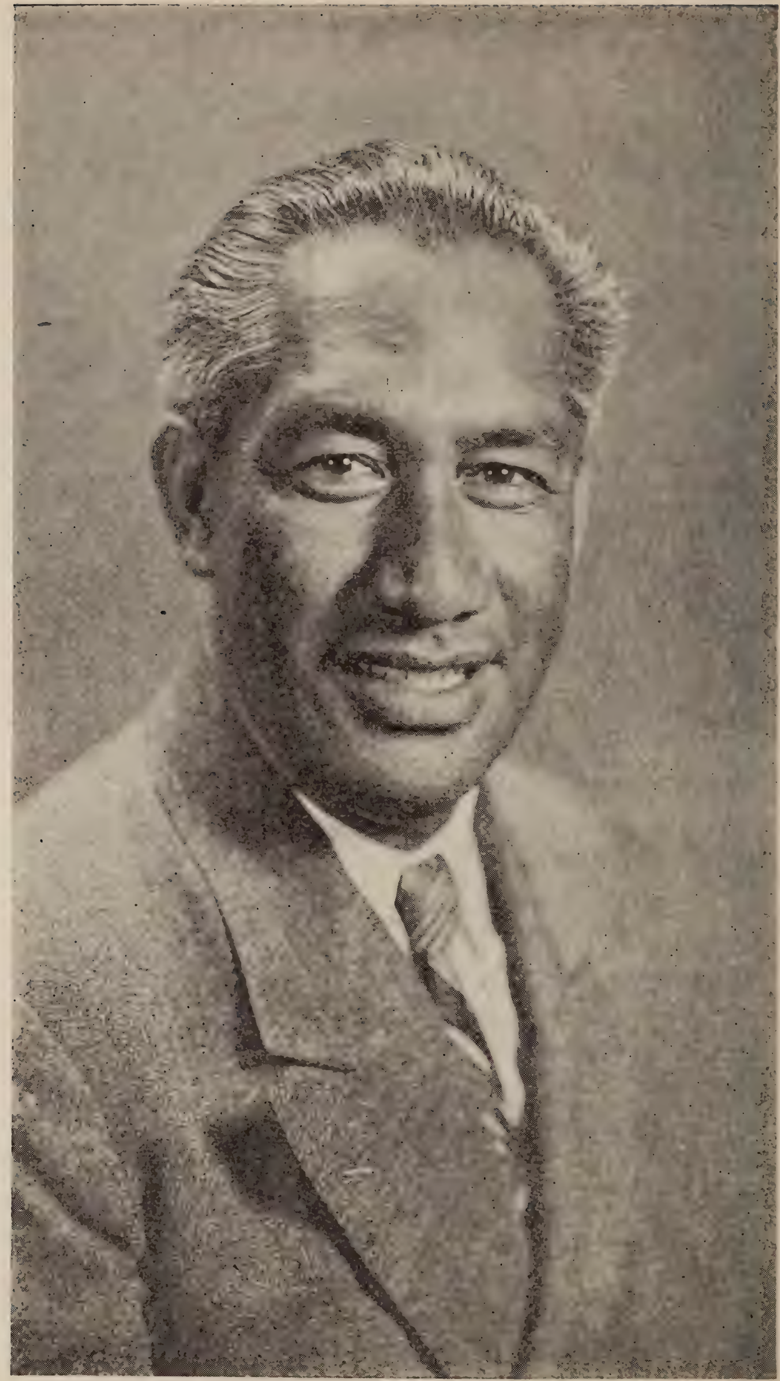
All this, however, was resented by those portions of the Caucasian and the native community which preferred the free and easy life, morally speaking, which they had followed before the missionaries came, when they were unrestrained by the standards of the lands from which the adventurers had come. The conflict between the Christian and non-Christian elements was, at bottom, not one in regard to race equality and the right of inter-racial marriage. It concerned rather the practical moral life.

The missionaries, thus, by their New England theology and traditions, by their firm belief in the capacities and rights of the common man, by their introduction of essential democracy, by their success in promoting universal education and by their opposition to all forms of slavery and serfdom, carried in their bones as it were, the implications and postulates of racial equality. Their relations with the Kings, the chiefs and the common people exemplified in a concrete way their beliefs and convictions. They early accepted the propriety and legitimacy of inter-racial marriage provided it was monogamic and regularized by the marriage ceremonies of religion. Such marriages were favored because of the lack of available White women. This also contributed directly to bar racial prejudice and discrimination.

The Missionaries and Hawaiian Prestige

The way in which the missionaries helped to maintain the authority and the prestige of the Hawiian people and thus to support their consciousness of race equality, is well described by Professor Adams.

> The missionaries, he says, were destined to furnish a strong support for the Hawaiian social order at a critical juncture. When, due to the multiplication of White residents and transient sailors, there was danger of a complete overturn of all Hawaiian authority, it was the missionaries who turned the scale. The old, strong-willed King, Kamehameha, was dead, and the young King lacked his resolution and shrewdness. The transient sailors and some men of more permanent residence manifested the common tendency of White exploiters and irresponsible transients to break down the native order. After such a breakdown the next step commonly is for the foreigners to plead native incompetence and thus to secure the assistance of their national governments to set up a control of their own. At times, the King of Hawaii was forced to submit to unjust demands backed up by foreign warships. Sometimes these demands were of such a character as to suggest that they were not expected ever to come to the attention of the civilized world.
>
> The missionaries, because they had access to some of the agencies



Duke P. Kahanamoku

> of civilized public opinion and were able to influence the foreign policy of some of the great nations, played at this time a most important role. Some of them resigned from their missionary connection and as advisors to the King helped to reorganize the government so that it could maintain order at home and so that it could meet its international obligations. As administrators they helped to maintain the King in a position of dignity and to protect the people against disorderly White residents and transients and also against cheating by shrewd traders.
>
> All this automatically tended to favor the mores of race equality. It was necessary to treat the King, the members of his family, and other high chiefs in such a way as to symbolize respect. If one who thus treated the King and other Hawaiian dignitaries with respect did, at times, refuse social recognition to Hawaiians of lower rank, such discrimination had to be regarded as based on rank or class, not on race. If White people commonly had their more intimate association according to preference with each other, such association could not be made to symbolize what must be symbolized in a caste system of race mores. Their social relations with the King inhibited that.[5]

The Present Situation

During the history of the Islands a succession of situations developed when the continuance of the practice of racial equality seemed for a time doubtful. Thanks, however, to favoring circumstances as well as to the strength of a partially established tradition, the danger was in each case successfully passed. Each added decade in the practice of racial equality increased the momentum of the movement. A factor of growing force is the rapidly increasing number of Hawaiian-born youth of many races and many race-mixtures—a virile population of well educated, wide-awake American citizens imbued with the ideals of democracy and race-equality, who simply must deal with each other as equals, if they are to get along on a satisfactory basis. No race-group can possibly gain any real advantage by snobbishly arrogating to itself claims of superiority based merely on racial ancestry.

> It must always be remembered, declares Dr. Albert W. Palmer, in seeking to interpret the happy race-relations found in the Hawaiian Islands today, that the basic race, the Hawaiian, though brown of skin, was royal in rank. The Hawaiian has never been a slave. He gave the Islands their Kings and Queens and has no sense of racial inferiority because of the color of his skin. Consequently, when other brown-skinned peoples came, they found no predetermined social prejudice already established against them. They were received on their own merits and had to start with no advance handicap of racial antipathy. Moreover, the very number of races that have come to Ha-

> waii has probably helped the situation. There is no deep gulf between just two antithetical and highly contrasted groups, but each race has found it well to meet all other races with the give and take of an open-minded tolerance.[6]

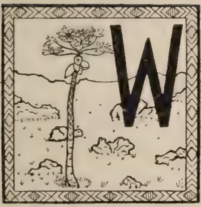
But in addition to all the factors mentioned above it should not be forgotten that the instinctive attitude toward foreigners of the Hawaiian people themselves constituted an important contribution to the present interracial good feeling. Writers have not as a rule sufficiently emphasized this contribution. Hawaiians were not "race-conscious" and their etiquette required courtesy to visitors.

Consciousness of racial equality seems now to be pretty well established. It is silently assumed as a matter of course in practically all the relations of life. The chief challenge at present comes from the presence in the Islands of such a large number of Whites from the mainland, especially men and officers in the Army and Navy. They come with their race-superiority complexes and prejudices which make it hard for them to understand or appreciate the situation in these Islands.

Chapter IV

Racial Factors

The Original Population



WHEN Captain Cook discovered the "Sandwich Islands" (1778) he estimated the population at approximately 400,000, now believed to have been an over estimate. Vancouver who had been with Captain Cook on his first visit stated in 1792, on the occasion of his second visit, that there had been an apparent depopulation. In 1823 the missionaries (who had arrived in 1820) made their first estimate and concluded that the population was 130,313. This great diminution has been generally ascribed to the infections, contagious diseases, licentiousness and alcoholism introduced from "civilization." It is now believed however, that those diseases and habits were only in part the causes of the rapid decimation. Anti-social practices and vices, such as infanticide which was rife, and tribal wars, were already at work when the White men first arrived. Changing customs due to the presence of White men, ignorance of proper ways for dealing with such troubles as colds, measles, and chicken-pox, and serious deterioration of their grass-thatched huts—all played fatal parts in decimating the population.

Certain it is that the tragedies of race-decay were not due to the missionaries, as has been alleged, for they "strenuously combatted infanticide, abortion, diseases, licentiousness and exploitation." Notwithstanding the presence and efforts of the missionaries, depopulation continued, although at a diminishing rate. By 1884 pure Hawaiians numbered 40,014 and part-Hawaiians 4,218 while in 1896 the numbers were respectively 31,019 and 8,485. [2] The latest Territorial figures (June 30, 1936) give 21,594 Hawaiians, 19,391 Caucasian-Hawaiians and 18,217 Asiatic-Hawaiians. "If the Hawaiians are to disappear as such", says Governor Frear, in his thought-provoking pamphlet entitled "Anti-Missionary Criticism" (p. 6) "it will be a gradual fusion through intermarriage with other races, for Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians combined are decidedly on the up-grade, the Hawaiians decreasing slowly and the Part-Hawaiians increasingly rapidly."

TABLE I

Civilian Population of the Territory of Hawaii

	1924		1930		1936	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	42,221	14.6	50,850	14.6	59,202	16.2
Caucasian						
Portuguese	26,791		27,588		29,863	
Spanish	1,916		1,219		1,261	
"Other Caucasians"	16,372		24,895		28,069	
Total	45,079	15.6	53,702	15.4	59,193	16.2
Asiatic						
Chinese	24,522	8.4	27,179	7.7	27,495	7.5
Japanese	125,368	43.3	139,631	40.0	149,886	41.4
Korean	5,817	2.0	6,461	1.8	6,682	1.8
Filipino	39,608	13.7	63,052	18.1	53,550	14.7
Total	195,315	67.5	236,323	67.8	237,613	65.2
Puerto Rican*	6,347	2.2	6,671	1.9	7,470	2.1
All Others	409	.1	780	.2	799	.2
Total Civilians	289,371	100	348,336	99.9	364,277	99.9
Military Population (Roughly estimated)	18,000		20,000		29,000	

*Puerto Ricans are commonly classified as Caucasians. Accurately speaking, however, they are a highly mixed group of Spanish, American Indian and Negro ancestry. In the interest of clarity it seems desirable to give them a separate status.

The Nine Main Races*

Today, nine relatively pure races and many combinations of these are sufficiently numerous to have received the attention of the census gatherers. The principal races are the Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Spanish, "Other Caucasians," Korean, Filipino, and small numbers of other races not enumerated in the census. Except the Hawaiians and "Other Caucasians," nearly all the members of the immigrant groups came to Hawaii as laborers under contract with the sugar planters. They consisted largely of men without wives, coming for short periods. Although many of these men returned to their native lands, many did not, finding conditions in these Islands preferable to those at home.

Race-Mixtures

Early Caucasian adventurers who did not settle down in the Islands

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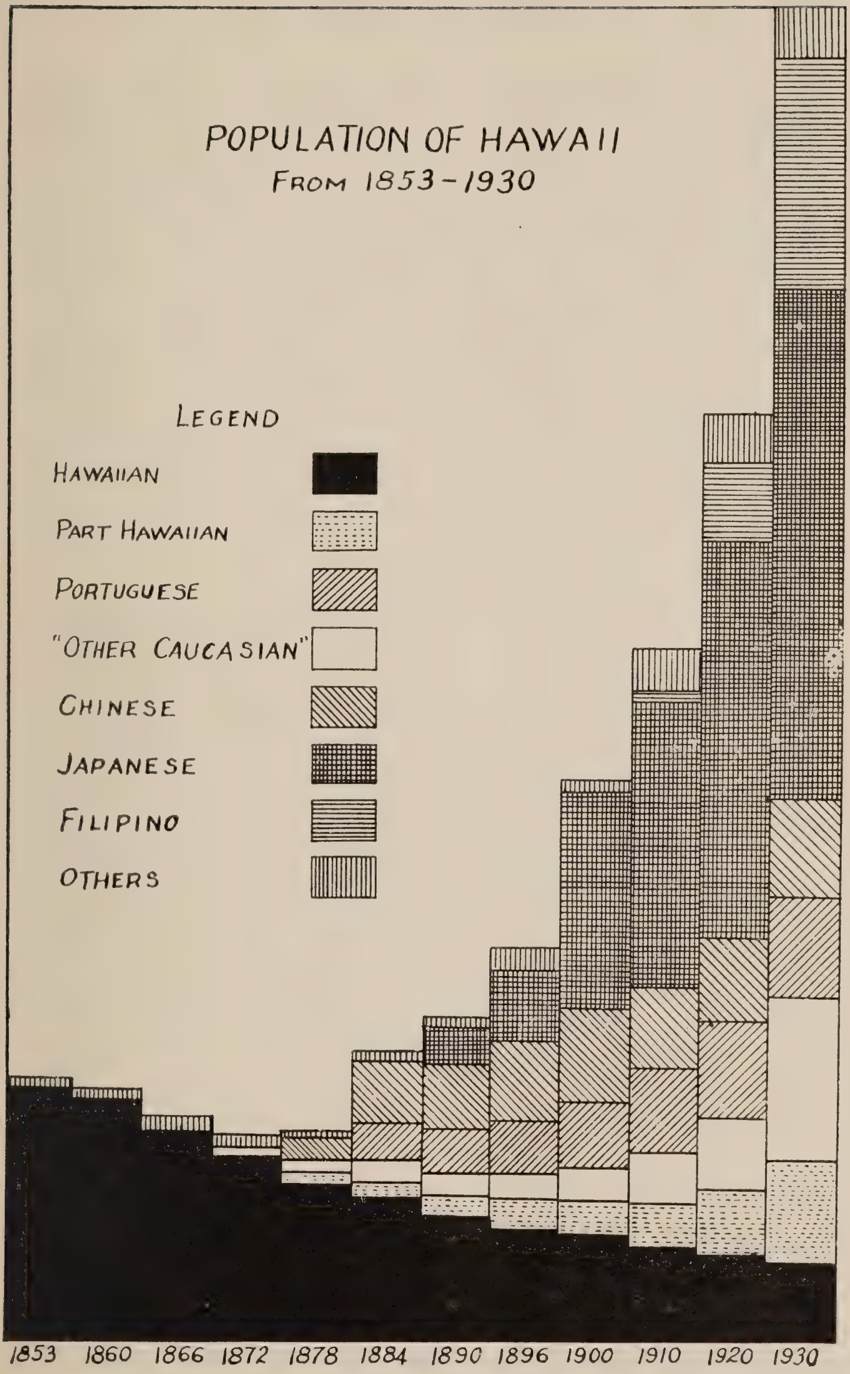
* The term "race" is here used in the popular sense. Strictly speaking only three races and their crossings are found in these Islands, the White, the Yellow, and the Black. Mankind consists of a single species, scientifically speaking, the various human races and their crossings holding a relationship to each other similar to the varieties of a species of plant or animal.


POPULATION OF HAWAII
FROM 1853-1930
LEGEND
HAWAIIAN
PART HAWAIIAN
PORTUGUESE
"OTHER CAUCASIAN"
CHINESE
JAPANESE
FILIPINO
OTHERS
1853
1860
1866
1872
1878
1884
1890
1896
1900
1910
1920
1930

left comparatively few offspring. Abortion and infanticide were freely practiced by the Hawaiian women of those days, especially when there was no father to assume responsibility for the support of the children. Caucasians, however, who settled permanently in the Islands were apt to have one or more Hawaiian wives and many children. Of the 40,000 Chinese laborers who came to Hawaii, several hundred married Hawaiian women. Their numerous offspring are commonly regarded as inheriting the best characteristics of both races. Early Portuguese plantation laborers who came between 1878 and 1900, and also Spaniards and Puerto Ricans, commonly brought their families with them and did not seek Hawaiian wives to any considerable extent. Japanese have been the least inclined to practice interracial marriage, preferring to get their wives from the home-land—in most cases from among their own townsfolk. But even Japanese are beginning to fall in with the Hawaiian custom of racial intermarriage, as the statistics on a later page show.

Thus we find many variations of race mixtures—more numerous than census takers have tried to keep track of. They have not attempted to record any mixtures except those of the Hawaiians, and these they have divided into only two groups, Caucasian-Hawaiian and Asiatic Hawaiian. In the census of 1849 Part-Hawaiians were registered as half caste and were regarded as "foreigners". In 1853, however, they were registered as "natives". Since annexation (1898) census takers have followed mainland practices, except that the distinction has been recorded between Hawaiians, Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians. Many Asiatic-Hawaiians—about one third—have Caucasian blood also. Inter-Caucasian mixtures are included in the group called "Other Caucasians." All persons of mingled blood are arbitrarily classified as Asiatics if either parent is Asiatic. A Caucasian-Japanese, for instance, is classified as Japanese, just as on the mainland persons having even a little Negro blood are classified as Negro. More or less confusion exists in regard to the terminology.

> There has always been a feeling in Hawaii, writes Professor Adams, that a distinction should be drawn between Portuguese and Whites. In the early days after annexation, Portuguese *and* White were commonly used. This, however, proved offensive to the Portuguese. Nearly every Department of the Government invented some device to avoid this, but to keep the distinction without using "White." The schools used "Anglo-Saxon" and included in this term not only white Americans but also all of European ancestry—Italians, Greeks, Russians,

> Jews, Frenchmen, Englishmen, etc., except Portuguese and Spanish. The Census Department at Washington used the terms Puerto Rican, Spanish and "Other Caucasians," this latter term including just the same people as were counted Anglo-Saxon by the schools. Other Departments had other terms.

The writer is indebted to Professor Adams for the graph[3] on page 29.

Length of Residence in Hawaii

For a proper estimate of the social and psychological situation of each of the racial groups and of the degree to which each group is entering into the make-up of the Neo-Hawaiian-Americans, one must know how long ago the main body of these groups first arrived in the Islands. As Professor Adams points out:

> The present economic and social status depends largely on the length of their residence in the Islands. Those who came first have had a longer time to learn the English language, to become familiar with things Hawaiian and American generally, to get occupations and to accumulate property. . . . The earlier immigrants have larger numbers of mature sons and daughters who have been educated in American schools and who are American citizens. In 1930 most Chinese and Portuguese under fifty years of age, most Japanese under thirty, most Puerto Ricans under twenty-eight, most Koreans under twenty-five, and most Filipinos under fifteen, were born in Hawaii.[4]

According to the census of 1920 the number of foreign-born Chinese in Hawaii numbered 11,165, mainly men whose average residence in the Islands was at that time thirty-one years. Portuguese numbered 5,982 and their average residence was twenty-nine years. Puerto Ricans most of whom arrived in 1901 numbered 2,581. Japanese—60,688—came to these Islands in three waves; the first wave, about one seventh of the total, mostly men, came between 1885 and 1897; the second wave, one half of them women, about four sevenths of the total, came between 1898 and 1907; the third wave ,about two sevenths of the total and consisting mainly of women and children, came between 1908 and 1919.

Population Changes Through Migration

We need also to know what is happening to the various groups through the coming and going of their members, as distinguished from the changes due to births and deaths. It is important to distinguish also between the coming and going of the foreign-born and that of the Hawaiian-born, who are American citizens. These facts have been brought to light by the painstaking research of Professor Adams.

His studies cover the decade from July 1, 1924, when the Asiatic Exclusion Law went into effect, to June 30, 1934. While that law forbids the coming of Asiatics to the United States, it permits Asiatics already in the United States to return after a temporary absence. Availing themselves of this privilege many foreign-born Japanese in Hawaii have visited Japan. During the decade since the exclusion law was passed some 17,368 of them have returned to Hawaii (10,400 males and 6,968 females), the net result being a decrease of the alien Japanese population by 9,382 (5,900 males and 3,482 females.) The travel back and forth of Japanese foreign-born children under sixteen years of age was negligible, the net result being a decrease of 42.

Turning next to the Hawaiian-born Japanese we come upon some rather unexpected facts. Although they are American citizens yet they too are leaving the Islands in considerable numbers. Total departures of all ages during the decade amounted to 19,572 (8,745 males and 10,827 females.) Total arrivals, however, amounted to 14,102 (8,161 males and 5,941 females) the net result being a decrease of 5,470 (2,666 males and 2,804 females.) Distinguishing between adults and children under 16 years of age we find that the total departures of Hawaiian-born children amounted to 11,997 (5,969 boys and 6,028 girls) while the arrivals amounted to 7,042 (3,734 boys and 3,308 girls) resulting in a net decrease during the decade of 4,955 (2,294 boys and 2,661 girls).

Interpreting these figures we conclude that many Japanese families have returned to Japan for permanent residence naturally taking their children with them. Another factor, however, has had its influence on the travel of the children back and forth. Many parents found it difficult to care properly for their young children while at work in the fields. They preferred to send them to Japan to be cared for, for a few years, by their grandparents. When these children, especially the boys, were ready to become economic assets by themselves becoming laborers, they have been brought back to Hawaii. This sending of considerable numbers of young children to Japan for education has undoubtedly had a retarding effect on their Americanization.

Distinction should of course be made between the movement of Hawaiian-born Japanese to and from Japan and the movement to and from the mainland. Carefully compiled statistics show that the main travel of Japanese back and forth is with Japan. Although 3,625 Hawaiian-born Japanese left for the mainland (2,575 males and 1,050 females), 2,268 came from the mainland to Hawaii (1,617 males and 651 females.) These were nearly all adults. The net result during the decade was a loss of second generation Japanese to the mainland of only 1,351 (952 males and 399 females). Of this number 34 were children under sixteen (32 boys and 2 girls). These figures show that while a considerable number of Hawaiian-born youth of Japanese parentage (2,268) sought on the mainland more favorable economic conditions than they thought they had in Hawaii, yet nearly two thirds returned to the Islands. These adventures to the mainland were not confined to males for of 886 adult females who went to the mainland 489 returned to Hawaii.

Regarding the Chinese the most noticeable fact is that during the decade under consideration 1,809 more adult aliens left for China (mostly old men returning to be buried) than came from China, while the excess of arrivals of aliens under 16 was only 8. Of Hawaiian-born Chinese children some 500 more left Hawaii during the decade than entered.

The one other race-group still changing rapidly through the migration of laborers is the Filipino. During the ten years for which the figures have been examined, 60,148 males (822 under 16) and 2,732 females (524 under 16) entered Hawaii, chiefly from the Philippines, while 35,308 males (3,523 under 16) and 6,585 females (3,208 under 16) left for the Philippines. The net figures show that 26,373 more adults entered Hawaii than left and that 5,385 more children left Hawaii than entered. The movement of Filipinos to and from the mainland has been quite active, 13,809 (of whom 861 were females) having left Hawaii while only 1,578 (181 females) came to Hawaii from the mainland. The number of children in these migrations was negligible.

The Proportions of Men, Women and Children

The social life of a race-group depends closely on the proportions of its men, women and children. When men largely predominate crime tends to be more frequent, arrests and convictions in proportion to the population are large and the reputation as well as the character of the race-group are affected. On account of the special conditions by which each race group has become what it is, the ratios per 1000 of the men, the women and the children of each group, taken separately, become significant. In general it may be said that while the ratios for the States of Iowa and North Carolina for 1920 are respectively 318, 308 and 372; and 300, 300 and 399 (using these states as a yard-stick), for the combined races in Hawaii, the ratios for 1920 were 409, 235, and 354; and for 1930 they were 420, 217, and 362. The increased proportion of males in 1930 was due in part to the increase of the military forces in the Islands, and also in part to the immigration of male Filipinos.

> Groups in which the men are well provided with wives of their own race, says Professor Adams . . . . tend to be well represented in the schools. This is especially true if their residence has been of such length as to permit of the attainment of maximum families of school age.[5] Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos have an abnormal number of men. The same is true of the "Other Caucasians" but this is due almost entirely to the presence of the military forces. Japanese children were relatively more numerous in 1930 than in 1920 because in 1920 there were many young women with incomplete families. As the ratio of children decreased for the Portuguese, 1920 to 1930, so may it be expected to decrease for the Japanese, 1930 to 1940. Gradually as the immigrant generations pass away, the ratios tend to become more nearly normal, but not for fifty years will it be possible to explain the ratios without reference to the time and the conditions of immigration of the various immigrant groups.[6]

Fecundity and Fertility

Japanophobists have repeatedly declared that is is only a question of time before the Japanese population will overtop that of all the other races combined. Now that immigration of laborers has practically come to an end the question of the rate at which each group is growing through excess of births over deaths is one of peculiar interest. No student of this problem has given it more thorough scientific examination than Professor Adams, on whom we rely for the following statistics and observations. The problem is particularly complex in Hawaii because of the number of race-groups, because of the large excess of males in some groups leading to considerable marriage across race-lines and because of the different ages of the different race-groups.

> The birth-rates do not give a measure of the relative fertility of the women of the different race-groups because in many cases the child is not classified as belonging to the race of the mother and because of the differences in the relative number of women and in their age constitution. The death-rates do not afford dependable evidence as to what is characteristic of the various groups, because of differences in the age-constitution (of the group) and because many elderly men return to their native lands, thus causing death-rates in Hawaii to be

lower than they otherwise would be. In particular, the large number of unmarried young men in the military and naval services tends to reduce both birth and death-rates for "Other Caucasians.' The majority of the children of Hawaiian women are classified as Part-Hawaiians and more than a seventh of the children born to Portuguese women are, since 1930, classified as "Other Caucasians." There are similar gains and losses for other groups. The very striking fall in the Portuguese birth-rate is due mainly to the change from the old Hawaiian way of classifying mixed-bloods according to the mother's group to a classification according to the father's group, where both are white.[7]

The generally decreasing birth-rates are explainable by reference to two principal factors: (1) In the case of some groups, notably the Japanese, the age-structure of the families is less favorable to a high birth-rate. There are more old women and fewer 20 to 30 years of age. (2) In the case of those immigrant groups that have been in Hawaii thirty to forty years, the child-bearing function is being transferred to the Hawaiian-born daughters of the immigrants, and, commonly, the families of the native-born are smaller. Apparently the Hawaiian-born Americans of Chinese, Portuguese and Japanese ancestry are responding to the same influences that have operated to reduce the size of the American family on the mainland.[8]

There appears to be a perennial interest in the comparative fecundity of the women of the different racial groups in Hawaii. In the absence of statistical data genuinely bearing on this question there is an oft-repeated effort to draw conclusions from irrelevant data. Not only are there in Hawaii no statistical data bearing directly on fecundity, i.e., child-bearing capacity, but there are no adequate data relating to fertility, i.e., the number of births to the woman, as a racial characteristic. There are data relating to the number of women of child-bearing age and as to the number of children born to the women of each group for one year only, 1931-32. There is some information relative to the age-structure of the women of the various groups, but insufficient to permit of computations of a very accurate character. In any case, there is no constant rate of fertility through a series of years, such as would be necessary to indicate that fertility is a trait mainly conditioned by racial factors. In general, all the immigrant groups have a relatively high birth-rate, as compared with the rate for people of the old American stock. But as the daughters and granddaughters of immigrants grow to womanhood and take the place of their mothers as the bearers of children, there is a marked tendency for the refined birth-rates to fall. As the second and third generations come more and more into the American cultural inheritance they tend to follow the American pattern as to the size of the families.[9]

Interracial Marriage

Interracial marriage has been the practice of the Hawaiian people from time immemorial. It has been followed by many individuals of every race that has come to the Islands. It is sanctioned by law. It is also apparently gaining the general approval of public opinion. This is a matter of great importance, for race mixture is thus taking place under wholesome conditions through regular marriage relationship and the stable family, not clandestinely and illegitimately. The legal and social status of mixed bloods is such that they are able to enjoy a large measure of social equality and economic opportunity, free from the incubus that so often mars and hampers the life of mixed bloods on the mainland. It serves also to beget in the Islands a high-class type of citizens of mixed ancestry who possess fine personal character, and ability to hold positions of dignity and responsibility in the social, business, and political life of the Islands.

It would of course be an exaggeration to say that all difficulties in the way of marriage have vanished and that cross-marriages* are as common as marriages between members of the same race. It is still true that the vast majority of marriages take place within the racial groups. Great differences still exist between the different groups in respect to the freedom for their youth to marry outside of their own group.

> For example, writes Professor Adams, of the women who were brides in the year ending June 30, 1932, 60 percent of the Hawaiian, 45 percent of the Portuguese and less than 5 percent of the Japanese married outside of their ethnic group. Differences in language, religion, family customs and traditions, social status and education doubtless have important bearing on the question of marriage and especially of cross-marriages. On the other hand, differences in physical race-traits such as color, features, etc., do not seem to play as important a role as do the cultural differences.[10]

The presence of numerous mixed bloods of various combinations, moreover, is apparently promoting the crossing of the various stocks. A pure Chinese for instance is more likely to marry a woman who is part Chinese and part Japanese than he would a woman who is pure Japanese, while a Japanese man is more likely to marry a woman who is half Japanese than he would a woman who is pure Hawaiian or pure Portuguese. Already the trend toward a homogeneous population through progressive cross-marriages is clear. In 1912-13, 11.32 percent of the marriages represent some sort of interracial mixture while in

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* Those who desire to study more fully the problem of interracial marriage should consult not only Professor Adams' comprehensive volume already referred to but also the discussions by second generation Chinese and Japanese themselves in the annual volume published by the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii entitled "Social Processes in Hawaii."

1935-36 the percentage of mixtures was 29.58. Detailed statistics of interracial marriages are of course exceedingly complex not to say confusing. The following table, however, presents in simple form the main facts for four years.

TABLE II

Marriages Classified by Race

	1912-13	1931-32	1934-35	1935-36
Hawaiian-Hawaiian	245	63	79	49
Caucasian-Caucasian	544	664	750	840
Chinese-Chinese	62	132	139	140
Japanese-Japanese	1,844	810	903	964
Korean-Korean	33	25	23	22
Filipino-Filipino	137	249	185	194
Total In-Marriages	2,865	1,943	2,079	2,209
Total Cross-Marriages	366	771	856	928
Total Marriages	3,231	2,714	2,935	3,137
Total Population	217,744	380,507	384,437	393,277
Marriage Rate per Thousand of Population	14.84	7.18	7.43	8.07

The most striking point in the above table is probably the remarkable fall in the number of Japanese-Japanese marriages — from 1844 in 1912-13 to 903 in 1934-35. Hawaiian-Hawaiian marriages likewise fell from 245 to 79 for the same year. Although between 1912-13 and 1934-35 the population of the Islands increased from 217,744 to 384,437 the total number of marriages fell from 3,231 to 2,935. This indicates a remarkable decline in the marriage rate—from 14.84 per thousand of population to 7.43 per thousand. Interracial marriages on the other hand, increased from 366 to 856—clearly showing the trend. During the year ending June 30, 1936, the total number of marriages rose to 3,137 and the marriage rate to 8.04 per thousand, while Hawaiian-Hawaiian marriages fell still lower—to only 49.

Census gatherers are required to practice a curious inconsistency due to mainland race prejudice. A person of Caucasian-Asiatic parentage is registered as Asiatic whereas if neither parent is Caucasian he is registered as a member of the father's race. The racial statistics of the population are, therefore, misleading. During the four years ending June 30, 1932, 1933, 1935, and 1936, for instance, 931 children were born, as reported, of Caucasian-Asiatic parents, yet they were officially registered as pure Asiatics. They may have been not only one-half or three-fourths but even seven-eighths or fifteen-sixteenths Caucasian, yet they are officially "pure" Asiatics, being listed as Japanese, Chinese, Koreans or Filipino, according to the race of the mother.

While it is not possible, therefore, to estimate, even approximately, the number of those who have Caucasian-Asiatic mixtures in their ancestry, it is clear that there must be several thousand. And there are several thousand Caucasian-Asiatic-Hawaiians.

The existence of these groups of racial mixtures further increases the tendency toward interracial marriages. Members of strictly "pure" races marrying outside of their own race are more apt to marry Part-Hawaiians or Part-Caucasians than they are to marry a person of a wholly different race, strictly speaking "pure." For instance, during the year 1935-36 while 23 children were born having Japanese-Hawaiian parents, there were 85 who had Japanese-Part-Hawaiian parents. Similarly while 29 children were born during that same year having Chinese-Hawaiian parents, there were 119 who had Chinese-Part-Hawaiian parents. Hawaiian-Caucasian parents had 141 children born during that year while the parents of 165 were Caucasian-Caucasian-Hawaiian and those of 59 were Caucasian-Asiatic-Hawaiian, making a total of 224 children whose parents were Caucasian-Part-Hawaiian.

Children of Mingled Ancestry

We are interested, however, not only in the question of interracial marriage but even more so in the question of the mingling of racial bloods in the children. The Territorial Bureau of Vital Statistics has issued for four recent years statistics giving the racial classification of all the children born in the Territory. The following table is based upon those statistics.

TABLE III

Totals for Four Years (1932, 1933, 1935 and 1936)

Children of Mixed Ancestry		*Children of Unmixed Ancestry*	
Hawaiian Mixtures	7,554	Hawaiian-Hawaiian	1,369
Caucasian Mixtures	5,762	Caucasian-Caucasian	6,260
Chinese Mixtures	3,819	Chinese-Chinese	1,963
Japanese Mixtures	962	Japanese-Japanese	14,798
Korean Mixtures	197	Korean-Korean	412
Filipino Mixtures	1,467	Filipino-Filipino	4,516
Total	19,761	Total	29,318
Counted Twice	10,201	Children of Mixed Ancestry	9,560
Total Mixtures	9,560	Grand Total	38,878

Careful consideration of these statistics shows, however, that the situation is much more complex than is indicated since the statistics take no notice of Caucasian-Asiatic parentage. Not a few of the parents classified as Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos have more or less

Caucasian blood through the interracial marriage of earlier generations. The Bureau has made it a practice for several decades of classifying the offspring of Caucasian-Asiatic parents as Asiatic, according to the race of the mother. A child whose father is Caucasian is classified as Chinese if the mother is Chinese, as Japanese if the mother is Japanese, and so on. Into the details of this situation, however, it is not necessary for us to enter, especially as Professor Adams has recently published a thorough study of this entire situation in his volume "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii." A few points of special interest, however, may be noted.

Although the population of the Territory has increased by about 60,000 during the past two decades, both the number of births and also the birth-rates have fallen. The number of births, for instance, in 1925 (the maximum year) was 13,109 while in 1936 it was only 8,960. The birth-rates per thousand of population for the same years were 40.53 and 24.24 respectively.

The contrast, usually commented on, in the interracial marriage of Japanese and that of the other races is more apparent than real, when the important factors are taken into consideration of the size of the Japanese group, their relatively recent arrival and the ease with which Japanese have been able, down to 1924, to secure wives and brides from their homeland. It has already become clear that in time Japanese interracial marriage will be as free as is the case of the other races.

A recent study of "Six Generations of Race Mixture in Hawaii" traces the descendants of an English sea-captain and an Hawaiian princess who were regularly married in 1814. The offspring of that marriage number approximately 400 and include various combinations of Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese blood. The amount of the blood of each race has to be measured in multiples of eighths. Interracial marriages, however, began at least three decades earlier so that there are now offspring whose blood-mixtures must be stated in terms of sixteenths and thirty-seconds. In a few cases the mixtures must be measured in terms of sixty-fourths.

The Part-Hawaiian Group

Of special significance for us is the rapid increase of Part-Hawaiians. In 1896 they numbered 8,485 whereas by 1936 the number has increased to 40,885. "During the decade, 1920 to 1930," says Professor Adams, "they passed the Hawaiians, the Chinese and the Portuguese, in numbers, and they are now surpassed only by the "Other Caucasians," the Filipinos and the Japanese. According to present indications the Part-Hawaiians will out-number the Other Caucasians and Filipinos by 1950, and will pass the Japanese before the end of the century. Part-Hawaiians, for the successive decades beginning with 1940, as forecast by Professor Adams, will number respectively 44,000; 66,000; 90,000; 133,000; and 165,000. "If the situation is not seriously affected by further immigration, the majority of all the people of Hawaii may be Part-Hawaiians by the end of the present century."

Persons of mingled ancestry outside the Hawaiian group—such as Caucasian-Chinese, Caucasian-Japanese, Caucasian-Korean, and Caucasian-Filipino, already number several thousand, although the published statistics do not give any indication of their number. These interracial groups are increasing rapidly and are also coalescing with one another and with the Part-Hawaiian group. This situation renders a statistically accurate picture of the extent of the mingling of racial bloods practically impossible. But the trend is clear. The Neo-Hawaiian-American race will ultimately be a grand mixture of the blood of Hawaiians, Anglo-Saxons, Chinese, Portuguese, Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, with other bloods in small amounts such as French, Italian, German, Scandinavian, Russian, British Indian, Negro, etc.

Psycho-Physical Race-Differences

The University of Hawaii has for many years conducted research studies of race characteristics. The significance of what had already been done induced the Rockefeller Foundation, beginning in 1926, to make substantial grants for more intensive work. These grants have already amounted to more than $200,000. The results have been published in several volumes and numerous monographs and magazine articles. A general summary of the thirty studies already completed was made by Professor S. D. Porteus in a pamphlet entitled "Human Studies in Hawaii" (1932) which constitutes the principal source of the following observations and statistics.

Certain psycho-physical tests were made on several groups of boys twelve years of age belonging to several different races. As it turned out their performances depended apparently not only on the physical energy but also on the psychic energy of the boys. Table V at the close of this chapter gives the statistical results of the tests. The point of special interest is the relative rank of the different groups. Further studies, especially of adults, confirm the general findings disclosed in this table. Its most surprising feature is the low position of the Chinese and Japanese. In view of their well-known industrial efficiency, this seems extraordinary. Much of the hard physical labor on the plantations is done by these races; yet these tests show that physically they are not so well endowed as even the Filipinos. They are "greatly inferior" to the Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians. The difference between their strength as shown in the tests and their practical efficiency as shown in their every-day labor

> may be best explained, says Professor Porteus, on the basis of differences in race temperament. The Japanese, poorly endowed as he is from the physical standpoint, brings determination and industriousness to the task of earning a living, while the more easy-going Hawaiian takes life so easily that he is ousted by his weaker competitors. Then, too, we may find in these figures a possible explanation for the Japanese quest after the white-collar jobs. . . . Manual labor is, relative to his bodily strength and development, harder for him than it is for the men of the other races in Hawaii.[13]

Another possible partial explanation of the low position of the Japanese and Chinese as revealed in these tests has been suggested, namely, that it may lie in the matter of precocity. "The Hawaiian boy at 12 is probably much more mature for his age than are the boys of the Oriental races." Professor Porteus concludes that further investigation along these lines is obviously needed. As previously mentioned, a study with older subjects shows the racial groups in the same relative positions.

Another surprising fact comes to light in this table. Hawaiians stand distinctly above Chinese in every one of the eight items for which tests are recorded. Offspring of mixed Hawaiian and Chinese parentage, however, although practically the average of the two races in respect to height and weight, are clearly above the average in each of the other items, being nearly equal to the Hawaiian parent in respect to grip, chest-pull and chest-push, and actually surpassing him in respect to vital capacity and leg-pull. It is to be regretted that similar figures are not available for other race-crossings.

Psychological Race-Differences

In the study of psychological race-differences, the total number of individuals tested amounted to 15,206. Among the tests used were the Binet test for revealing school-learning capacity, the Form and Assembling and the Porteus-Maze tests for mental alertness, prudence and planning capacity, and the Healy Completion test for disclosing the ability to analyse correctly certain simple social situations.

In interpreting the significance of these so-called intelligence tests one needs to remember that knowledge of individual and racial psychological characteristics has made great progress during the past decade and that the craze for I.Q. figures, so much of a fad a score of years ago, has largely passed, due to the discovery that no single test, or even a small number, can really guage the whole intelligence, much less the total psychological character and mental ability of any individual. Many tests are now in use. The I.Q. figures, and accordingly those for the rank of any given individual, vary greatly according to the test used.

In comparing the mental characteristics of different race-groups the significant element is not the exact figures but the relative rank of each group. Table VI at the end of this chapter gives in condensed form the results of the application of the Binet and the Porteus-Maze tests applied to 9,320 individuals, members of twelve race-groups. Each column consists of the numbers in each group and the rank of that group. Perhaps the item most important to notice is that rank according to one test differs more or less from that according to the other test, although North Europeans head the list in both tests and Puerto Ricans foot it.

In his volume on Temperament and Race Professor Porteus shows conclusively that in comparing the racial psychological characteristics and practical abilities it is necessary to include a study of racial temperaments—including such qualities as courage, determination, prudence, attention, ambition, optimism, impulsiveness, persistence, etc., etc., and their opposites. It is these characteristics that indicate the tendencies and trends of life and probably have more to do with a person's success or failure than the characteristics of mere intelligence. The findings of the first research study that was completed showed that

> the results were favorable to the Japanese, who excelled in ratings of planning capacity, determination and stability, were equal to the Chinese in self-control and prudence, but inferior to them in dependability and tact. It was noteworthy that the Hawaiians obtained the highest ratings in tact, or ability to get on with other people. In brain-capacity measurements the Japanese exceeded the Chinese at every age. In the mental tests the Japanese held an advantage in Maze test records, which indicates the possession of prudence and planning capacity. In the test of intelligence, or school-learning capacity, the Chinese had a slight advantage over the Japanese.[14]

Summarizing the results on a test of "mental alertness," using the Form and Assembling Test, Professor Porteus made the following generalization:

After the Whites in Hawaii, second place is taken by the Japanese, followed hard by the Koreans, third and fourth places being filled by White-Hawaiians, with the Chinese several points below. However, expressed in terms of intelligence quotient levels, only a few points separated the several groups. A little lower in the scale came the Chinese-Hawaiians and then the mainland Whites (a group of children of similar grade in school in a town in eastern United States). This study proved that in mental alertness the children of Oriental immigrants in Hawaii excelled White children of a manufacturing town in New Jersey. Their excellent performance on the other hand throws in sharper relief the lack of success of the Portuguese. Here cultural differences cannot be invoked to explain the differences in intelligence levels. The Portuguese and Hawaiians are taught in the same schools by the medium of the same language, and their social status is no lower than that of the Oriental children, yet in the tests applied they were considerably inferior.[15]

Intelligence Tests On Race-Mixtures

The effect of cross-marriages on the mentality of the offspring was one of the subjects given special attention.

An excellent showing was made by a group of 65 Chinese-White-Hawaiians, the White mixture being in this case northern Europeans. Their average I.Q. was 108, exceeding even that of the Japanese group. There seems to be no other explanation for this excellent record save superior ability in the traits measured by this test.[16]

As far as this test is concerned, there is no support for the view commonly held in the Territory that the Chinese-Hawaiian is a better racial mixture than the White-Hawaiian. Nor, as regards the position of Hawaiian crosses in general, is there any justification for the view that the mixtures are either better or worse than the parent group. Apparently they tend to occupy an intermediate position in each case. With regard to the Chinese-White-Hawaiian mixtures, however, there seems to be a distinct tendency by this tri-cross to approach more closely the White performance and to excel the performance of the other racial hybrid groups. Apparently, mixture of blood in a racial group is not *per se* a disadvantage, notwithstanding assertions frequently made to the contrary. As regards the intermediate position of the other crosses, this is very close to an actual mid-point between the scores of the original or parental groups.

For example, the average I.Q. in the White group is 112; that of the pure Hawaiians, 93.4. The average of these two scores is 102.7 which is exactly that of the White-Hawaiian mixture . The average of the Chinese and Hawaiian scores is 97.45 and the actual I.Q. score of the Chinese-Hawaiian crosses was 98.5. This intermediate position of the Hawaiian crosses is also demonstrable in physical measurements.

Thus the blending of physical traits in the hybrid seems exemplified

> on every hand, and there seems every reason to suppose that in mental traits the same thing occurs. Hence if there is any biological basis for the superficially observed differences in temperaments between races, as, for example, the easy-going nature of the Hawaiian, the patient, persistent efforts of the Chinese, and the aggressiveness and initiative of the Whites, then the blending of these temperaments should result in an excellent cross.[17]

The intermediate status of race-mixtures has been recently discussed from the social stand-point by Professor Adams in his work on Interracial Marriage in Hawaii. He finds the interracial group to be growing rapidly, as we have already noted, and also to be rendering an important service in bridging the gaps between the various pure groups and thus in the genesis of a real Neo-Hawaiian Race. To a keen analysis of the situation Professor Adams brings rare common sense and illuminating comment.[18]

A special study was made of the various Hawaiian mixtures at the Kamehameha Schools, using the Binet and the Healy Picture Completion tests. "In the case of the boys, the Chinese-White-Hawaiians take first place in all three tests, again demonstrating the superiority of the tri-cross. The White-Hawaiians take second place in all three tests, while the Chinese are last in the Binet and the Porteus-Maze but excel the Hawaiian group in one test, the Healy. In the case of the girls the White-Hawaiian-Chinese again take first place in both the Binet and Maze tests, providing further evidence of the superiority of this group. The pure Hawaiians are lowest in each of the three test-records."[19]

Comparative Racial Intelligence (I.Q.)

For many years children who were found by their teachers to constitute problems in social adjustment were sent to the Psychological Clinic in the University of Hawaii for examination and suggestions in regard to treatment. It was found in 1927 that 760 cases were on record. These records were classified by race and analysed, the results proving extremely interesting.

> The Puerto Rican group constituted the most serious problem in social adjustment, no fewer than 107 for every 1,000 of the school population of that racial group being referred to the Clinic for examination. The Portuguese, with 79 per 1,000 were second, followed by the Filipinos with 68 per 1,000. The Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian groups had 54 cases per 1,000 referred, the Spanish came fifth with 36, the Koreans next with 31, while the Chinese with 17 and the Japanese with 15 per 1,000 occupied the most favorable position.

> From these figures it is apparent that the Oriental groups in the Hawaiian population are making considerably the best social adjustment in the community. In attempting to assess the racial progress of a group, we must take these matters of social adjustment into consideration, as well as the intelligence level.
>
> There is probably, however, a connection between the social adjustment and intelligence, because, as Dr. M. E. Babcock, Assistant Director of the Psychological Clinic, was able to show, the order of cases in intelligence levels by the Binet tests was practically the same as the order of races in the social adjustment. Commenting on the results of the many tests made, Professor Porteus states that they furnish additional disproof of the theory that crosses are either inferior or superior to the parent group. In mental as in physical measurements they appear to be intermediate.[20]

Tests were also given to determine the memory ability of the different races. The results showed that while one group might excel in visual memory it would fall below in auditory memory and vice versa. This was found to be particularly true of the Japanese who "excelled both the White and Chinese groups (in visual memory) reversing the situation that was found in auditory memory tests."[21] It would seem to be a fact that the "quality of memory" differs in different races.

Achievement Tests On Part-Hawaiians

The Kamehameha Boys' School has recently conducted a series of Achievement Tests, using the tests by which thousands of boys on the mainland have been graded. Results show that the Kam boys are distinctly in advance of boys of the same ages on the mainland. Four tests were used with results indicated in the following table.

TABLE IV

	7th Grade		8th Grade		9th Grade	
	Mainland	Kam	Mainland	Kam	Mainland	Kam
New Stanford Achievement	7.8	8.4	8.8	9.2	9.8	9.5
New Stanford Arithmetic	7.8	10.0	8.8	9.8	9.8	10.+
New Stone Reasoning (Arithmetic)	7.7	7.4	8.9	8.9	8.9	9.7
Schorling-Clark-Potter (Arithmetic)	38.	60.	45.	68.5	48.	76.

For the 10th, low 11th, high 11th, and 12th grades other tests were used. The mainland figures for the four grades were 128, 138, 141, and 144 respectively, the Kam figures for the same grades being, 136, 147, 140 and 146. This speaks well for the ability of the boys, most of whom are of variously mixed Hawaiian parentage, and also of the excellence of the school instruction.

Race and Crime

In this study of the factors at work in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race no extended consideration is given to the criminal records of the various race-groups for the reason that it is extremely doubtful if there are any biologically inherited racial tendencies toward crime. A study of commitments to prison of males 18 years of age and over shows that in 1924 there were only six races that had had ten or more commitments, and in 1931 only four. The numbers, moreover, were too small in most cases to justify any sweeping generalizations. Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Part-Hawaiians make the poorest showing when the figures are reduced to the number of commitments per 100,000 males, while the Chinese and Japanese make the best showing.

> Court and prison statistics, says Professor Adams, are useful for some purposes, but one should exercise much caution in drawing conclusions from them, especially conclusions relative to innate racial qualities. Under Hawaiian conditions the figures are, to a very great extent, significant of the special historical circumstances, the social traditions, the occupational and social status, education, age and marital condition of the people of the various groups, and only slightly, if at all, evidential of any biologically inherited tendencies toward crime . . . . The remarkably low rates for the Chinese and the Japanese are most satisfactorily explained by reference to the persistence in Hawaii of old-country standards and to the fact that they are sufficiently numerous to maintain organization . . . . To whatever extent any family has been disgraced by the criminal conduct of any of its members, the whole family suffers . . . . This brings the whole weight of family influence on each member. He must so conduct himself as to reflect credit on his family.[2]

In rspect to juvenile delinquency Japanese make by all odds the best showing (for the two years 1929 and 1930) with 341 cases for each 100,000 children from 10 to 17 years of age. Chinese come next with 812 while the Whites have 1,250 to their discredit, Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians 1,701 to theirs, Filipino 1,664 to theirs, and Puerto Ricans 2,810 to theirs. The relation of these statistics to the family, social and economic conditions of the various races in Hawaii is discussed with manifest insight by Professor Adams in his illuminatng pamphlet, quoted above.

Possibilities of a Superior Race

Contrary to popular opinion it is not true that the crossing of races begets offspring that inherit the "bad qualities of both the parental races and the good qualities of neither." This has been conclusively shown by Professor H. S. Jennings in his comprehensive study of chromosomes and genes in his recent volume, "Genetics." When allied stock or races that have long been separated are crossed he shows that "the genes from the different sources supplement each other, each stock contributing a vigorous dominant gene for each pair that is weak and recessive in the other. . . It is bound to occur in any organism in which there exist many gene modifications. This is in a high degree the case with man, so that such results play a large role in man."[23] If these conclusions are verified by further studies in embryology the results are highly significant.

But it should also be noted that in a later generation, with the recombination of genes, weak or inferior genes may become paired, resulting in defective individuals. In a "mixed" race the offspring of two or more relatively pure races are highly variable, a small number—about 2½ percent—being found in each of the two extreme groups, superior and inferior, and 95 percent in the various intermediate groups. Professor Jennings has worked out mathematical formulae for estimating the variety of combinations of characteristics possible in a mixed race. He states that in a man whose fertilized germ cells contain about 1,000 genes arranged in 23 pairs of autosomes (groups of genes), "If all the autosomes differed in the two parents the number of types of germ cells produced by F1 individuals (children) would be 2^{23}, or many millions, and the number of genotypes in F2 (grandchildren) would be 3^{23}, or many billions."[24]

In such a case as Hawaii where more than nine races are participating in interracial crossings, the variety of the possible combinations of the genes is beyond computation. This gives enormous possibilities for sports and geniuses of many kinds—and of course also many varieties of defectives. As already stated, however, about 95 percent of the population will lie in between the extremes. To a casual observer the general population will appear to be the average of the parent races.

When it is noted that the civilization of a people is the work of the small group of superior individuals, it becomes at once apparent that in a highly mixed population like that of Hawaii, the possibility of geniuses is large, and the prospect for a rapidly developing civilization and culture is relatively high. And if at the same time a policy of preventing the reproduction of those at the lower end of the scale (congenital imbeciles and the insane) can be consistently carried out for several generations, the prospect of developing a relatively superior race and culture is excellent. Such a policy, moreover, is more likely to be adopted and consistently carried out in a small area having a relatively limited population—as in Hawaii—than in a large continental area, peopled by scores of millions.

Appendix to Chapter IV

TABLE V[25]

Comparative Size and Strength

	Height (Centm)	Weight (Kilos)	Vital Capacity (Cu. In.)	Grip (Kilos)	Leg-Pull (Kilos)	Back-Pull (Kilos)	Chest-Pull (Kilos)	Chest-Push (Kilos)
Hawaiian	146.1(1)*	39.78(1)	125.6(3)	54.5(2)	104.0(2)	75.8(1)	15.7(2)	14.82(2)
Chinese-Haw.	144.1(3)	36.38(3)	126.7(1)	55.3(1)	105.0(1)	71.4(2)	15.8(1)	14.78(3)
Caucasian-Haw.	144.4(2)	37.03(2)	126.7(1)	53.7(3)	97.5(3)	66.8(3)	15.3(3)	15.36(1)
Filipino	138.3(6)	31.94(5)	111.8(5)	49.6(4)	97.0(4)	66.1(4)	14.8(5)	13.37(5)
Portuguese	140.8(4)	32.68(4)	117.3(4)	49.1(5)	91.5(6)	65.6(5)	15.2(4)	14.04(4)
Chinese	140.3(5)	31.67(6)	109.1(6)	46.1(6)	92.1(5)	60.1(6)	13.9(7)	11.23(7)
Japanese	136.6(7)	31.16(7)	100.1(7)	44.2(7)	76.2(7)	56.8(7)	14.0(6)	11.79(6)

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* Figures in parentheses give the comparative rank of each race group.

TABLE VI[26]

Psychological Race Differences

	Binet Test						Porteus-Maze Test					
	6-12 yrs.		13 yrs & Over		All Ages		6-12 yrs.		13 yrs & Over		All Ages	
	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank
North European	180	(1)	72	(1)	252	(1)	145	(1)	66	(1)	211	(1)
Korean	92	(2)	24	(2)	116	(2)	81	(4)	22	(1)	193	(2)
Chinese	437	(3)	201	(3)	638	(3)	379	(8)	191	(7)	570	(7)
No. Euro. Haw.	171	(4)	114	(6)	285	(5)	242	(3)	106	(5)	248	(4)
Chi. Cauc. Haw.	36	(5)	24	(4)	60	(5)	35	(2)	23	(3)	58	(2)
Japanese	939	(5)	411	(4)	81	(5)	734	(5)	353	(3)	1,087	(5)
Chin.-Hawaiian	172	(7)	96	(8)	268	(7)	149	(6)	88	(10)	237	(6)
Portug. Haw.	100	(8)	49	(7)	140	(8)	92	(9)	48	(8)	720	(10)
Portuguese	349	(8)	259	(9)	608	(9)	486	(11)	234	(11)	720	(10)
Filipino	147	(10)	51	(9)	198	(10)	114	(10)	48	(5)	162	(9)
Hawaiian	272	(11)	147	(1)	419	(11)	216	(7)	147	(8)	353	(7)
Puerto Rican	190	(12)	86	(12)	276	(12)	163	(12)	78	(12)	241	(12)
Totals	3,085		1,534		4,610		2,736		1,404		4,710	

Chapter V

Educational Factors

Principal Factors Creating Homogeneity

WE TURN now to consider the principal psychological factors making for the genesis of a homogeneous people out of the many race-groups in Hawaii who speak a dozen different languages, have entirely different social, moral, and religious traditions, and are characterized, therefore, by exceedingly diverse mentalities, moral conceptions and philosophies of life. The most fundamental conditional factor is of course the fact that Hawaii's many race-groups occupy a narrowly limited common territory. Races segregated for many milleniums are now living in close relations and contacts. The force of economic circumstances compels them to associate more or less with one another. This factor is especially operative on the second generation who meet in the schools, are taught to speak a common language, and quickly develop habits of playing together in the school-grounds.

The first generation do not know each other's language. Their means of communication at first are practically nil. They are all occupied at the start in the same school of making a living—on sugar or pineapple plantations. They all become "sugar-minded" or "pineapple-minded"; they develop common skills, common interests and common attitudes toward plantation bosses, foremen and managers. They quickly pick up "pidgin English" while working on the plantations. This simple language bridges the chasm between them and their foremen and also between the various groups. It begins the process of developing a common mind. The children in the schools—further along than their parents in the development of the common mind—constitute a still more effective factor in the education of their foreign-born parents in the new environment.

More important, however, than the geographical and economic factors are the social, cultural, political, and religious institutions, such as the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., Boy and Girl Scouts, Social Settlements, plantation hospitals, clubs, recreation centers, intra- and inter-plantation athletic meets, our democratic government with universal suffrage, the schools, and the churches. All these have exerted and are still exerting powerful influences on the mentality and moral attitudes of the various race-groups. They are developing common knowledge, common understandings, common ideas and ideals, and a common loyalty. So important are these factors in the genesis of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race that the concrete facts, institutions and activities deserve specific attention.

The way in which minority race groups in certain European countries have for centuries preserved their existence, their languages, their characteristic race-mentalities, and their race-consciousness, notwithstanding geographical propinquity, economic pressure and the coercive efforts of majority groups to absorb them, shows that what is taking place in Hawaii is not just natural or inevitable but is due to certain favorable factors that are seldom found elsewhere.

Developing a Common Language

In creating a psychologically homogeneous people the acquisition of a common language and simultaneously the abandonment by the children of the language of their parents are highly important factors. This dual process is going on at a phenomenal rate in the Territory of Hawaii. At first sight it may seem strange that a small fraction of the population can impose its language on the large majority. Theoretically the language of the majority should prevail. Under the circumstances in Hawaii, however, it is quite natural that the language of English-speaking Caucasians, even though they constitute but one eighth of the entire population, should become the common language of all the race-groups. English bids fair to become in the course of two or at the most three generations, practically the one living language in the Islands.

The first schools in the Hawaiian Islands were established by the missionaries who reduced the Hawaiian language to writing during the third decade of the last century and taught the people to read and write it. Public schools were established toward the middle of that century. Because all business was then in the hands of English speaking foreigners, a demand arose for teaching English to Hawaiian youth. This not only enabled them to secure desirable positions of employment but also "Gave the people access to a greater literature. Before the end of the Monarchy (1893) English was taught in nearly all the schools." While the older Hawaiians still use the native language, the majority and especially the younger ones speak, read and write English quite freely. "For an increasing proportion English is the language of common intercourse. . . . It (Hawaiian) does not promise to remain a living language for a long time."

Each group brought of course its ancestral language. But as we have noted above, a hybrid language, popularly called "pidgin English" came into existence—exceedingly simple in structure, practically grammarless, having words from many sources, easily pronounced, easily remembered and easily picked up. The schools of course did not "recognize" this mongrel jargon. When the children of the various immigrant groups began to attend public schools it was evident that they could not all be taught in the various languages of the parents. The Hawaiian language was already on the toboggan slide. English—the language of the race dominant in business and social status—naturally became the standard language of the schools, the "common denominator" so to speak, for the intellectual life of the people.

Thus, without compulsion, with no development of ill-will, resentment or opposition on the part of any group, and entirely without effort by the dominant group to suppress any language or to absorb any people, the language of the small but influential minority has become the accepted language of all the race groups in the Islands. All desire to have their children learn this language and to gain the advantages of better business and social prospects thereby opened to them. It is already evident that children of each non-Caucasian group understand, speak and read English better than they do the languages of their parents. Indeed, so deficient is the average non-Caucasian child's knowledge of its parental language that a serious mental and moral chasm frequently develops in the family, to the grief and anxiety of the parents and to the loss of moral discipline of the home.

The acquisition, however, of the English language by all the children of all the race-groups and their education in this single language is a mighty factor—probably the most important—in begetting a psychologically homogeneous people in Hawaii. This psychological unification of the second and later generations of each group becomes, moreover, as has already been stated, a powerful factor in their biological unification. With the passing of the immigrant generation and especially of the second generation, not only will "pidgin English" (which the public schools and also the Japanese language schools are vigorously fighting) become a dead language, but so will also the native languages of the foreign-born groups, except in so far as they are definitely cultivated for business or sentimental reasons.

The ability of the various race-groups to speak English has been recorded in the United States census for the years 1910, 1920, and 1930. "The differences among the various immigrant groups", says Professor Adams, "are explained largely by reference to the date of their coming to Hawaii. For example, in 1910, 71 percent of the Portuguese and only 26 percent of the Spanish were able to speak English. Most of the immigrant Portuguese had come before 1890 and most of the Spanish after 1905. The rapid progress of all groups may be noted as soon as immigration ceases. The slow progress of the Filipinos is a result of continued immigration. . . . It seems to take about fifty years to make an illiterate people literate". Full statistics are given by Professor Adams in his illuminating pamphlet.

Public Schools

Some one has facetiously said that Hawaii has four principal crops—children, sugar, pineapples, and tourists. Hawaii's public schools show that the greatest of these is children.

Education is compulsory for children 6 to 14 years of age. The desire of parents for the education of their children is on the whole so general that no special effort is necessary to enforce the law, except in the case of Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Filipinos. The school budgets have increased from $1,526,920 in 1920, to $4,811,055 in 1936.

One quarter of the population of the Territory goes to school daily. The sexes are about equally divided, the boys outnumbering the girls slightly in all totals. This is significant, for the traditional practice of the Orientals has been to educate boys only. Obviously, under their psychological environment in these Islands, Orientals have accepted American ideals regarding the importance of educating girls as well as boys.

The following table shows the growth of attendance on the public schools by decades for each race-group from 1880 onward. The interesting fact comes to light that although Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian children attended public schools in small numbers, by 1930 they became too few to be given separate classification and were, accordingly, classified among "Other Caucasians."

CENTRAL INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL

TABLE VII

Enrollment by Racial Descent Since 1880[2]

Racial Descent	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1936
Hawaiian	5,657	5,599	4,977	3,527	3,458	3,374	2,879
Part-Hawaiian	955	1,573	2,631	2,227	4,478	8,005	9,723
Portuguese	55	1,813	3,809	3,733	5,472	6,003	5,430
Puerto Rican	0	0	0	308	1,073	1,222	1,594
Spanish	0	0	0	0	392	262	292
"Other Caucasian"	0	0	0	0	0	3,219	3,779
Anglo Saxon	376	598	1,250	702	1,186	0	0
Scandinavian	0	56	114	86	36	0	0
Chinese	85	262	1,289	2,184	3,961	6,854	6,591
Japanese	0	39	1,352	6,557	19,354	41,151	45,880
Korean	0	0	0	164	535	1,802	2,074
Filipino	0	0	0	0	1,035	3,803	5,358
All Others	36	66	115	400	370	939	1,406
Totals	7,164*	10,006*	15,537*	20,245	41,350	76,634	87,276†
Private Schools	1,791	2,663	4,036	5,525	7,573	11,943	14,946
Grand Totals	7,164	10,006	15,537	25,770	48,923	88,577	102,222

* These figures include the children in private schools.
† This figure includes 2,270 children not classified by race.

Quite a large proportion of the children entering the public schools come from homes where no English is spoken. This places a heavy load on the elementary schools, especially for the first two or three years. Many children have to remain in the first grade for more than one year. Retardation because of language handicap will, however, gradually pass away. Evidence shows that Part-Hawaiian, "Other Caucasians", Chinese, Japanese and Koreans are taking the most advantage of public school education and make the best progress. Hawaiians, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Spanish and Filipino children suffer more from retardation[3].

There are in the Territory some fifteen Junior and Senior High Schools, manned and womanned by some 450 teachers and having an enrollment of about 17,000 up-and-coming young people. The largest of these is the McKinley High of whom all but 53 are Hawaiian-born American citizens. Racially classified there are 17 full Hawaiians, 251 Part-Hawaiians, 91 Portuguese, 12 Puerto Ricans, 3 Spanish, 46 "Other Caucasians", 915 Chinese, 2,096 Japanese, 156 Koreans, 35 Filipinos, and 15 of various other races. The enrollment in the R.O.T.C. for 1935-36 was 1226.

The largest Junior High is also in Honolulu (Kalakaua) and has an enrollment (1936) of 3,859. The Roosevelt Junior and Senior High, in Honolulu, sometimes called the "Haole High", has an enrollment of 1,977 youth of whom 10 are pure Hawaiians, 260 Part-

McKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL

Hawaiians, 140 Portuguese, 27 Spanish, 1,047 "Other Caucasians", 141 Chinese, 82 Japanese, 25 Koreans, 8 Filipinos, and 18 of various other races. Among the private schools there are seventeen Roman Catholic parochial schools with an enrollment of approximately 8,000 pupils, from Kindergartens to Senior High. The largest of these is St. Louis College with all departments from kindergarten up. The enrollment was 1,517. The race classification of its pupils for 1935-36 was:—Hawaiians 37; Part-Hawaiians 346; Portuguese 287; "Other Caucasians" 187; Spanish 8; Chinese 444; Japanese 97; Filipino 7; and other races 35. About 60 percent of the pupils were reported as Roman Catholic, the remainder being reported as of "other faiths or no faith at all".

The public schools of Hawaii have attained a high degree of excellence. But the point of importance for this study is that all these thousands of children and young people of all the different races are getting common ideas and ideals regarding the world in which they live, which are taught to American children on the mainland. They study the same readers, geographies, histories. They receive the same instruction in physics, hygiene, and morals. In a word the educational system is giving all these children the same mental structure, the same mental furnishings, creating thus the basis for mutual understanding and a common life.

In no respect, probably, has the wisdom of the social, industrial, and political leadership of the Islands been more manifested than in their educational policies, first under the Monarchy and the Republic, and then since the annexation, under the Territorial Government. A highly enlightened school system has for over half a century been giving full and equal opportunity to the children of every race and social class. The door of hope has been wide open to every ambitious boy and girl. This privilege for their children has been highly prized especially by Chinese and Japanese parents, who in their homelands had learned to hold scholarship in high regard. The number of the youth of these two races now flocking into the high schools and the University is striking testimony to the ambitions and the ability of the children of the immigrant races.

This educational system of the Islands togther with the democratic ideals and practices of the Hawaiian Government is begetting with extraordinary speed not only a linguistically and intellectually homogeneous people but also a contented and an essentially happy people.

ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL

The main source of present-day anxiety on the part of the leaders is lest this high grade education may be lifting the children of the working classes so rapidly that they may be unwilling to follow their parents in the hard labor of the plantations, making it difficult for the rising generation to find adequate employment themselves and also difficult for the plantations to find laborers needed for the prosperity of the basal industries of the Islands. The ambition of these educated young people is naturally for "white-collar jobs" and for "business".*

Lack of an adequate supply of plantation labor has in the past driven plantation managers to the importation of labor from other lands. It is gratifying, however, to learn that the plantations have definitely adopted the policy of increasing their use of labor saving machinery, thus increasing the need for high grade labor. Already several thousand Hawaiian-born and Hawaiian-educated youth are finding occupation on the plantations. One plantation which employs some 500 young people reports that at present its annual labor turn-over in this group is only 15, striking refutation of the general belief that young people will not work on sugar plantations. This fine situation is not due to better wages but to the social ideals of the management and its sympathetic understanding and treatment of the young people. Many of the plantations are making substantial improvements in the villages where their laborers live. Families as a rule have separate homes equipped with many of the modern conveniences. Every community, moreover, has its clubs of various kinds, movies, athletic fields and other devices and advantages of modern civilization. The monthly bulletin of the Hawaiian Trust Company states (August 1936) that the sugar plantations have expended $5,000,000 during the past five years in providing better homes for their workers. They have built 20,000 homes, 14 community houses, 74 club houses, 42 baseball fields, 70 basketball fields, 185 volleyball courts, and 20 tennis courts. One plantation invested $40,000 in an athletic field. Thirty-seven members of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association reported that during the year ending October 15, 1936, their employees had been paid $24,992,460 in cash, and in addition had been given free housing, fuel, water and full medical and hospital service. In November 1936 they announced a special, profit-sharing bonus for all employees amounting to $1,250,000. They also announced that beginning on January 1, 1937 all employes would be put on an eight-hour work-day, a reduction of hours without reduction of wages.

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* Comprehensive statistics of employment on sugar plantations will be found in the appendix at the close of this chapter.

The Honolulu Star Bulletin for August 2, 1935, commenting on the new trend in the employment of Hawaiian-born youth, declared that "Nothing is more significant of the sugar plantation as a community center than the fast-increasing number of Hawaii's citizen-born who are taking up plantation work as a permanent occupation. Of the 49,276 employees of plantations, 13,991, or 21 percent are citizen-born. (These figures are apparently for June 1935. . . . The proportion of citizen-born is rapidly increasing. It will continue to increase, for plainly Hawaii's tide of immigrants is almost at an end. Henceforward the sugar industry and other industries must depend on 'home-grown' labor more and more. This is not a discouraging prospect at all. It is highly encouraging, from the standpoint of the employer as well as of the employee. It gives the employer a group of employees whose interests are indissolubly with Hawaii. It gives the employee assurance of livelihood, of stable, year-round employment, of a home."

In the schools, moreover, not only do all typical sports flourish, working mightily for the psychological homogeneity of the pupils, but the most approved methods of education are also in operation making for personality. Definite effort is made to fit the child for life in his home, in the community and in the State. Practical courses are given in gardening, elementary agriculture, home-making, cooking, household-mechanics, use of tools, woodwork, metal work, plumbing, electricity and basket-making. Special attention is given to the health of the children. Nutrition is carefully watched. Every child is tested for teeth and eyes and for tuberculosis. Many are X-rayed, if thought necessary. Twenty five dental hygienists look after the children's teeth. The writer was impressed on visiting the schools to discover that those Asiatic, Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Filipino youngsters, both boys and girls, already know more than he does of the varieties of vitamins and the kinds of food in which they abound and the amounts of starches, proteins, fats and sugars needed for a balanced diet. He discovered that the Department of Education maintains in all the larger schools efficient cafeterias where wholesome meals may be had at minimum prices, a good lunch costing 5 cents, and quite substantial breakfasts for even 1 cent! During the year 1934, 119 cafeterias served daily, 32,000 lunches, 10,000 bottles of milk and

3,000 penny meals. During 1936, 134 cafeterias served 44,709 lunches, 12,575 bottles of milk, and 8,932 penny meals. The budget of these school cafeterias runs to about $500,000 annually. The whole system is under the direction of experts.

"The class-rooms are so organized that the children actively participate, because character and citizenship are built through doing things rather than through talking about them." Music, sports, dramatics, journalism, art, class-room discussions, school assemblies, and folk-dancing enlarge the interests, develop the personalities and train the rising generation in methods for using leisure-time in ways that are social rather than anti-social. Student organization, participation in maintaining school discipline and in the control of traffic on the streets near the schools all help prepare the youth for the practice of active citizenship. Junior Police Officers to the surprising number of 1,200 in the Island of Oahu alone supervise the traffic in the vicinity of the schools. Seldom has an accident occurred during their supervision. They have the hearty backing of the Police Department and automobile club. They have no power of arrest. They merely report violations. "A driver of a police patrol car had to pay expenses of an accident through infraction of one of the boy's signals."

Where in the world can children of peasant-immigrants find in the land of their adoption such privileges of education, physical health and recreational enjoyment as are so generously provided for them in Hawaii? The system of education not only provides for the need of the growing children themselves but satisfies the ambitions of both children and parents. At the same time it is creating young men and women morally as well as intellectually fitted for the democratic form of government under which they live and in which they are rapidly becoming partners. It is creating a strong democratic "mind-set" in all the young people, resulting in enthusiastic Americans who sing lustily all our patriotic songs and salute the American flag with perhaps even more conscious loyalty than the children in the schools of the mainland. The schools are a mighty factor in the making of the coming homogeneous race in Hawaii.

Future Farmers of Hawaii

The Hawaiian Association of the Future Farmers of America is another organization helping to create a unified people in these Islands. Its direct purpose is, of course, the promotion of enthusiasm and tech-

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nical skill in farming, and the development among youth of the ideal of farming as a worthwhile life-occupation. Its members are high school boys taking courses in vocational agriculture. Two by-products of the movement, however, are of special importance. The first is the creation of an independent, middle class, rural population—between plantation day-laborers, on one side, and plantation managers on the other. The importance of this by-product cannot easily be overestimated. The second by-product is the development of a common mind, common interests and common activities on the part of youth of all the races, who are becoming "farm-minded."

The Hawaiian Association, a branch of the national organization, was organized in 1928 and has at present an enrolled membership of about 13,000, in 38 chapters. The seven annual Territorial conferences have brought together all told, several thousand youth of the various races, enabling them to learn by exhibitions, demonstrations, addresses by experts and practical personal discussions, what others are accomplishing, both increasing their knowledge and arousing their enthusiasm. The last conference, held in Hilo early in April 1936, was attended by more than 400 delegates from 37 chapters, assisted by some 37 "associates" and "advisors". Demonstrations included judging of tropical fruits, budding and grafting, postmortem examinations of poultry for the detection of insidious diseases, judging of dairy cattle, and swine for the market, poultry, eggs, etc. Prizes and awards are offered to stimulate interest and provoke ever better achievements.

Japanese youth naturally outnumber any other group—but race-consciousness is conspicuous only by its absence. Chinese, Japanese, Caucasians, Filipinos, and Hawaiians are all represented in the membership of the F. F. H. In the election of officers and advisors personal qualifications are the sole consideration. The Future Farmers of Hawaii rejoice in the successes won by their delegates to the annual national conferences on the mainland.

Who can doubt that this movement is contributing in its own way a highly important element in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race?

Future Homemakers of Hawaii

No more enthusiastic group of young people is to be found in these Islands than the girls in their "teens" who are enrolled in the Future

FUTURE HOME-MAKERS OF HAWAII—Japanese and Filipinos.

Homemakers of Hawaii, popularly called the F. H. H. Like the Future Farmers of Hawaii, although sponsored by the Territorial Department of Public Instruction, it is an independent organization, having its own officers, programs and annual conferences.

The F. H. H. grew out of the suggestion in 1931 of a girl that girls in the Home Economics Clubs in high schools should have an organization of their own similar to the Future Farmers of Hawaii. The idea took root, sprouted and grew rapidly. It now has 50 chapters with an enrollment of 3,435 (1936). The membership is divided into four groups, according to age and achievement—Young Sisters, House Daughters, Future Homemakers, and Hawaii Homemakers. The qualifications for each "degree" are carefully specified with a view to the promotion of growing understanding, developing ideals, and personal character.

The Homemakers' Creed, which the members commit to memory, declares belief in "the beauty of a wholesome family life"; the "home as the natural career for every woman"; "work in the home and with little children as the most inspiring and satisfying life"; and that "the joy of living does not depend on wealth, but upon health, unselfish love, intelligent care and devoted service."

The F. H. H. held its fourth annual conference in Honolulu early in April, 1936, and mustered an attendance of over 500 delegates, who came from all the Islands. The three-day conference was full and strenuous—with fun as well as serious purpose. The chapters vied with each other in their various "projects". Prizes and honorable mentions were awarded for those regarded as especially meritorious. The city press reported quite fully the addresses, discussions, and exhibits.

Among the exhibits winning wide attention and approval were:—the esthetic use of gunny sacks transformed by scissors and dyes into hula skirts; sardine, fruit and cracker tin cans made into beautiful flower vases, candle holders, lamp shades and book ends; changing an old store into an attractive living room at a minimum of expense; attractive dresses made from rice and flour bags; building a chicken coop and raising chickens to supplement the family income; efficient marketing; well-balanced meal planning; family finances; and a baby show—children of former Future Homemakers!

Among the addresses, discussions and oratorical contests, we find the following topics:—What Makes a House a Home; Every Woman's

Vocation—Homemaking; The Value of Homemaking to the Average Girl in Hawaii; The Homemaker As a Citizen; Waste in the Home, the Result of Negligence and Misunderstanding; The Family Budget.

The F. H. H. of Maui held an all-island conference of their own the following week. It was attended by 600 "enthusiastic girls". The one strenuous day included in its program many "projects", the awarding of prizes, and the grand baby-show, which claimed special attention. For their fun the girls were divided into the Elves and the Imps who vied with each other in many varieties of sports. Buses from all parts of the Island brought the girls from their homes and took them back by dusk, "tired but happy"—and no doubt inspired with new zeal to be efficient Future Homemakers.

So significant did the Territorial Legislature of 1937 regard this movement that it appropriated $2000 for the payment of travel expenses of delegates and other expenses of the annual meeting.

These girls in their "teens" from all classes and all races constitute a fine cross-section of the general population. Who can measure the value of this movement, not only in achieving its direct aims and ideals but also in cultivating a spirit of *camaraderie* across race-lines, begetting a common mind, and common interests in life.

The F. H. H. is doing its valuable part in the making of the coming new race in Hawaii.

The Parent-Teachers Association

Another factor in the situation is the Parent-Teacher movement. A dozen of these local groups were in existence before 1925. In that year they held a convention and formed "The Hawaiian Congress of Parents and Teachers" and became affiliated with the National P. T. A. At present (September 1936) there are 66 local units having a total paid-up membership of 12,385 parents and teachers. The monthly dues are 15 cents of which five cents go to the national organization and ten cents are retained by the Territorial Congress.

The "Parent-Teacher Creed" sets forth a high and comprehensive ideal of service, which deals with "all the problems that relate to the welfare of the child in home, school and community." The local units seek "To encourage all influences and conditions which make for the growth and safety of the child",—"To educate the parents",—and "To create wholesome public sentiment". The movement is a co-operative, non-political, non-sectarian, non-commercial effort to produce American citizens who shall be strong in body, alert in mind, and sound in character, capable of perpetuating the best which has been developed in our national life"—"the embodiment of social service, civic virtue and patriotism".

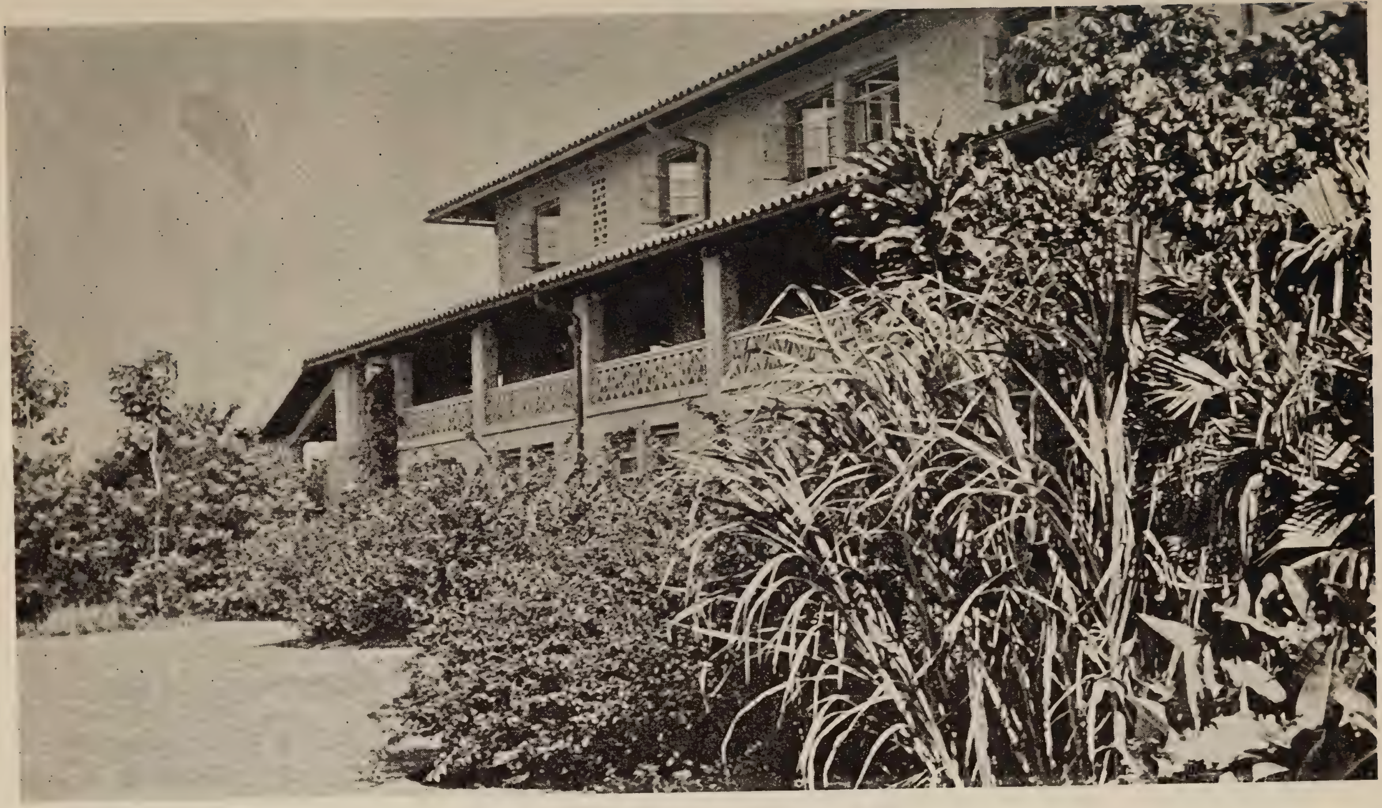
It surely means much to the multiracial population of these Islands that parents and teachers in such large numbers and of all the races, practically in proportion to their members in the Territory, are brought together monthly in local units and annually in the Territorial Congress to consider ways and means for promoting the social, educational, hygienic and moral welfare of all their children.

Here again, an important, undesigned product of the movement is the creation of a common consciousness among the members that they all share the same ideals for their children—a consciousness which inevitably tends to break down the natural feeling of each race—born of mutual ignorance through social segregation—that it possesses superior ideals and qualities. Racial superiority complexes are inimical to the best interests of every community. Active co-operation by members of the diverse races in working for the common ideals tends to weld the several groups into a genuine community in which each section understands and appreciates the others. The Parent-Teacher movement in these Islands helps in overcoming such complexes as well as in promoting the welfare of the children themselves. It is, thus, another factor of real significance in the making of a psychologically unified people.

The Kamehameha Schools

Among the outstanding private institutions in the Territory which give secondary education, the Kamehameha Schools provide especially for Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian boys and girls. These schools are notable for several reasons. They were founded (1884) by Princess Pauahi (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop) granddaughter of Kamehameha the Great and the last survivor of that royal line. She established a foundation valued at $375,000 at the time (now over $10,000,000) devoting to it the bulk of her fortune and directing in her will that the "Trustees provide first and chiefly a good education in the common English branches, and also instruction in morals and such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women, and I desire instruction in the higher branches to be subsidiary to the foregoing object".

The splendid sites of the two schools, their superb equipment, the



KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

notable results already achieved and the forward-looking plans for the future, all unite in making these schools highly significant in the life of the Islands and in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race. At present some 200 boys and 150 girls are under the practical and stimulating education provided by an efficient staff of about fifty members.

A recent analysis (September 1936) of the ancestry of the 1371 boys and girls who have attended these schools for the years 1933 to 1936 shows that 49 were "full" Hawaiians, 244 were three fourths, 653 were one half, 341 were one fourth, and 81 were less than one fourth Hawaiian. There were in addition three "Caucasians". The religious preferences of the students indicate that Protestants numbered 718, Roman Catholics 233, Mormons 188, Christian Scientists 25, Seventh Day Adventists 18, Episcopalians 55 (all boys), and the Apostolic Church 3, while 116 expressed no religious preferences.

So popular is the school that about 400 youth took the entrance examinations (1934) although only 100 could be admitted. The courses are designed to fit the pupils for actual life and for developing their capacity for living usefully and happily. One course of unique interest in the girls' school is a short course in the Senior Practice Cottage where a dozen girls actually keep house for a few weeks under a "teacher-mother" and take care of a real, live baby, borrowed by the month from one or another of the recent graduates.

A small tuition fee of $50.00 per year is required of both boys and girls which with other expenses for uniforms, books, medical care and incidentals make the expense for boarders a little over $100 for boys and $80 for girls for the year.

The importance of these schools in preparing Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian youth to take their places in the life of the Territory, not only as workers and home-makers but also as educational, religious, social and political leaders, cannot easily be overestimated. "Among Kamehameha boys", wrote the late Governor Wallace R. Farrington, "We find business men, agriculturalists, lawyers, doctors, ministers of the gospel, skilled tradesmen, senators and representatives in the Territorial legislature, and Territorial departmental executives."

The Kamehameha Schools are manifestly contributing their important part in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Mid-Pacific Institute

This Institute is a boarding school of high school grade for boys

MID-PACIFIC INSTITUTE

and girls of all races. It gives two four-year courses, one preparatory for college, the other commercial. It is open to students who have completed the eighth grade in the public schools and is designed to provide educational opportunities for those from other islands where adequate high schools are not available. It came into existence in 1908 by the incorporation of two earlier schools under a common Board of Management, the Kawaiahao Seminary established for Hawaiian girls (1865) and Mills School for Chinese Boys, established in 1892. As new races came to the Islands these schools opened their doors to the youth of all the races. The Institute occupies a wonderful site at the mouth of Manoa Valley, having a superb view of Diamond Head and the blue Pacific in front, and in the rear, of the fascinating, precipitous mountains that surround the valley on three sides.

Generous supporters have provided two handsome, lava-stone buildings, now partly covered with vivid-green ivy, dormitories for the boys and girls, on an ample campus of fifty acres, adjoining the University of Hawaii and a near neighbor to Punahou. The athletic field and the swimming pool are of course popular. The Institute gives each pupil every opportunity for physical, mental and moral growth. It is Christian but not sectarian. The classes are purposely kept small. The teachers, carefully selected for dealing with this student body of every race and mixture in the Islands, are all American-born and American-trained, men and women in thorough sympathy with the high purpose of the Institute, fitted to maintain an atmosphere of right thinking and clean living. Most of the teachers live in the buildings with the students with whom they are in constant contact. A "student government" elected by the students, deals with all questions of discipline, subject to final review by the Principal. Student Committees with teacher advisors provide for all student activities, literary and social clubs, picnics and outings, athletics, debates, movies, declamations, dramatics, and musical competitions and programs.

Of the 135 boys enrolled in September 1936, 109 were Japanese, 14 were Chinese, 5 were Part-Hawaiian, 4 were Filipino and 1 was a Korean. Of the 78 girls, 35 were Japanese, 22 were Part-Hawaiian, 10 each were Chinese and Filipino, 2 were English-Japanese and 1 was a full Hawaiian.

The students come from relatively well-to-do families chiefly on other Islands, who are able to pay the annual tuition fee of $225. This, however, covers only one half of the actual cost. Lessons in Japanese

MID-PACIFIC INSTITUTE GIRLS GLEE CLUB, 1937—1 Chinese, 1 Hawaiian, 1 Samoan, 2 Filipinos, 3 Hawaiian-Caucasian, 4 Part-Hawaiians, 6 Japanese, 1 Portuguese-Japanese, 1 Caucasian, Director.

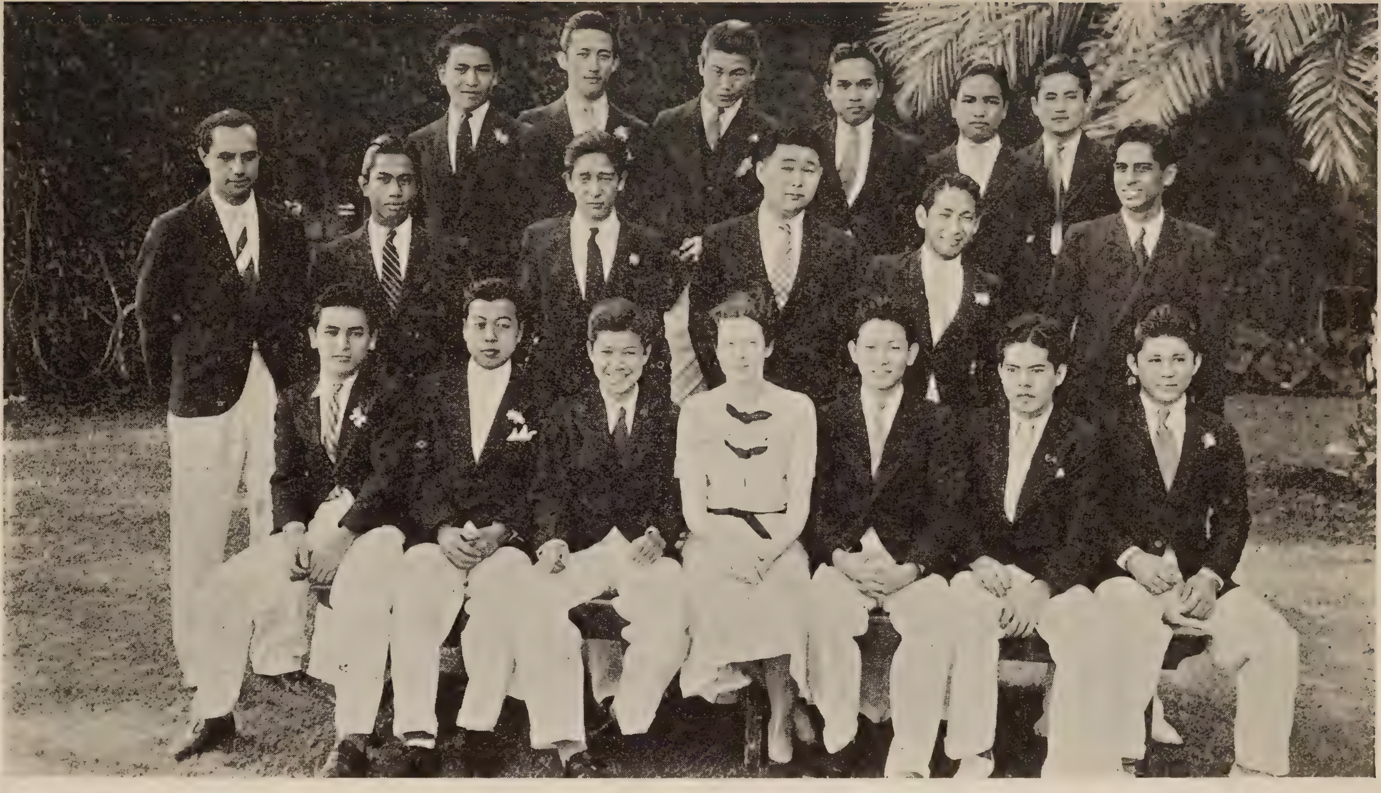
and Chinese are given without extra fees. For special courses, however, in Japanese, machine book-keeping, and piano, additional fees are required. Vocational training is given to all students, both boys and girls. For boys optional instruction is given in cabinet making, wood turning, painting, plumbing and electric wiring. The "shop" is run on a commercial basis and sells considerable amounts of furniture in Honolulu and on the mainland. Students who are industrious are able to earn substantial amounts of cash. The total budget of the Institute is twice the amount received from tuition fees, the deficit being provided by an endowment and by generous friends.

Our interest in this flourishing institution is due to its remarkable success in fusing into a single, happy, co-operative body, the youth of so many races and mixtures. They are constantly thrown together, not only in class-rooms but in their dormitories, in the kitchen and dining room, and of course in the socials, competitions of many kinds and sports. The uniform testimony of the teachers is that the students practically forget their racial origins. School elections ignore the race of the candidates. Every individual stands on a personal basis. Even when the relations of Japan and China were so strained in 1931-33 no effect was apparent in the friendly relations of Japanese and Chinese students. This I found to be true also in the other educational institutions of the city. At social gatherings, oftentimes, the girls of the different races wear their distinctive race-costumes—not, however, to emphasize race distinctions but merely to add color, variety and gaiety to the occasion.

Here again we see the process in effective functioning of fusing into a single homogeneous body, the most diverse racial elements. Psychological unification takes place easily and quickly under such favorable circumstances. Who can doubt the ultimate biological mingling of race bloods on the part of youth educated and trained as are these young folk.

Punahou

Punahou School was founded (1841) by the early missionaries in order that their children might be educated at home instead of being compelled to take the long voyage to the United States around the Horn on whaling ships in the care of sea Captains and in the company of rough sailors. The school has always emphasized plain living and high thinking and acting, regarding as even more important than aca-



MID PACIFIC INSTITUTE BOYS GLEE CLUB, 1937—1 Chinese, 2 Koreans, 3 Filipinos, 3 Part-Hawaiians, 9 Japanese, 1 Caucasian, Director demic and physical training the achieving of character, love of service and respect for labor. From the first it has believed in co-education, in fellowship between teachers and students, and in democracy. It was chartered as a non-sectarian institution in 1853. The large majority of its graduates have gone to colleges and universities on the mainland.

Its seventy-acre campus, set with many rare trees and multi-colored shrubs, is bordered by the world-famous, night-blooming cereus on an old, picturesque stone-wall. Three athletic fields, three surfaced tennis courts, and a swimming pool, provide abundant facilities for sports and healthful training, as the thirteen buildings, a large and competent staff and many student organizations and activities do for the intellectual and moral building of the students. Boarding facilities for a limited number of youth from other islands are also provided. The Academy with 531 students, the Elementary School with 324 pupils, the Pre-School with 49 children, and the Music School with 192 students give a total enrollment (omitting those repeated) of 1006. Ninety percent of these are Caucasians for whom Punahou especially seeks to provide. Yet because it is felt that a proper education for the youth of Hawaii should not in the least imply or foster a race-superiority complex attendance of ten percent of non-Caucasians is permitted. Only non-Caucasians who have complete command of oral English and come from English-speaking homes are admitted. This rule is not considered offensive by Orientals. The great majority of the students live at their homes in the city, the number in the boarding department being only 16 boys and 43 girls.

The distribution of graduates during the past five years is given in the following table.

TABLE VIII

Destination of Graduates

Destination	*Number*	*Percent*
University of Hawaii	190	40.9
Western Mainland Colleges	70	15.1
Eastern Mainland Colleges	51	11.0
Business	25	5.4
Special Schools	8	1.7
Post Graduate (Punahou and elsewhere)	16	3.4
Junior Colleges	15	3.2
Foreign Universities	6	1.3
Travel or Home	84	18.0
Total	465	100.0

Because of its definite policy of including all races among its students even though the number of non-Caucasians is limited to ten percent,

PUNAHOU SCHOOL

and because practically all the students before entering Punahou have already attended public schools, the total influence of the institution is in line with that of all the other educational institutions in the Islands, in promoting interracial respect and goodwill and thus in making for a homogeneous population.

The University of Hawaii

The University of Hawaii is the capstone of Hawaii's educational system. Founded in 1907, it is already a notable institution. One would hardly expect that among so limited a population, consisting so largely of illiterate, Asiatic peasants and their children there would be a sufficiently large number of high grade students seeking University education to require the establishment of a University. And in any case one would expect that a University in Hawaii would inevitably be quite small and of inferior rank. The facts are quite otherwise. For here is a first class institution, having a staff of about 250 members and a total registered student-body of 1750 (1933-34) with a summer session of 842, only a few of whom were members of the regular student-body. Of the 1601 who were "credit students," 1477 were from the five Islands of Hawaii, the rest coming from Japan (11), the Philippines (9), India (3), and California (29), from 1 to 5 each from 33 other states of the mainland and Washington, D. C., one each from China and Scotland, and two from Manchoukuo.

The number of the departments in the University shows the wide range of topics in which the students are interested. Here is the list.

College of Arts and Sciences
College of Applied Science
Oriental Institute
Teachers College
Department of Military Science and Tactics
Graduate School of Agriculture
Hawaii School of Religion
Psychological Clinic
University Extension Division
Agricultural Extension Service
Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station
Pineapple Experiment Station
Department of Athletics and Recreation

The University Library serves all the Departments. The University maintains co-operative relations with several cultural institutions, such as the Bishop Museum, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and also with such practical enterprises as the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association and the Pineapple Producers Co-operative Association. The total expenditure of the University for 1935 amounted to $672,742.71 of which amount the Territorial Legislature provided $320,137.72.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

Regular students pay a tuition fee of $100. This shows how earnest are the parents, chiefly peasants in their respective countries, for the highest educational privileges for their children. As in Universities on the mainland, scholarships, loan funds, and prizes provide financial assistance for the needy and the able. Some of the Departments in the University are especially financed, such as the School of Religion which is supported by friends, of both Protestant and Catholic faith." Work in this school is "credited in the same manner as regular University courses."

As one would expect in Hawaii, special attention is given to Oriental languages, history, philosophy and cultures, competent Oriental scholars being on the University staff. The Oriental Institute, recently established, makes possible "a more adequate interpretation of Oriental civilizations and cultures than we would be able to undertake otherwise." Research in the field of racial blends is being carried on, thanks to special grants by the Rockefeller Foundation, "racial blends" being much in evidence among the student body. The following table shows the ratio of the students of the principal race-groups enrolled in the University for the years indicated.

TABLE IX

University Student Enrollment

Race	1934-35 Percent	1933-34 Percent	1932-33 Percent	1929-30 Percent	1924-25 Percent
Caucasian	30	31	30	26	46
Japanese	29	32	29	27	26
Chinese	22	19	21	19.7	15
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	10	10	12	11.1	10
Korean	3	2	2	1.9	2
Portuguese	5	5	5	2.8	
Filipino	.5	.7	1	.8	1
All Others	.1	.3	.5	.2	

The noticeable feature of the above table is the complete absence of Puerto Ricans and Spanish, although as a matter of fact a few students of these peoples have occasionally attended. Pure Hawaiians in 1929-30 constituted only .6%. It seems clear that the professional leadership of the Territory during the coming two or three decades will be chiefly in the hands of the Caucasians, Japanese, Chinese and Part-Hawaiians.

Who can doubt the character of the effect of their University experience on the many thousand youth of both sexes who have gone through the institution during the past three decades? That experience has inevitably helped to create a "common mind" on the part of the young people with respect to the main problems of life, individual, social, economic and industrial. It has promoted mutual acquaintance and respect across race-lines among these young people who will inevitably become more and more the social, industrial, financial and political leaders of the Territory. That experience inevitably breaks down race prejudices built on segregation and mutual ignorance, and in their place equips the coming leaders with practical and personal knowledge of each other. Participation in the activities of the many student organizations, clubs, sports, and social gatherings, is fitting them for the parts they are sure to play in the body-politic and in society as they take their places in their respective communities and race-groups.

4-H Clubs

The 4-H Club movement is still another vigorous institution. It deals especially with youth in rural districts and is promoted by the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of Hawaii, for which grants are made by the Territorial Government. The movement aims to interest and train boys and girls in home and community improvement and in personal development by undertaking definite experimental projects, such as raising chickens, pigs and rabbits, and fruits, development of skill in detecting incipient plant and animal diseases, use of fertilizers, marketing, etc., etc.

In the 153 4-H Clubs in these Islands there are at present (1937) 2,319 members (972 boys and 1,347 girls) ranging from 10 to 16 or 17 years of age—practically all of them in school. Each club holds monthly meetings for personal improvement and stimulation in the chosen project—for every member must have some definite project of his own. Teachers and regional directors inspire and guide. Regional and Territorial conferences, exhibits and "demonstrations" are highly stimulating. The Clubs have adopted as their emblem the gorgeous, pink-throated hibiscus.

> Its five petals stand for the words of our pledge,
> The motto we hang on our wall.
> 4—H's plus one for Hawaii,
> And Hibiscus stands for them all.
> Head, Heart, Hand and Health we are pledging,
> To work for Hawaii our own.
> So here's to the yellow hibiscus
> Our Aloha for farm and for Home.

In addition to the 4-H Clubs are several other similar groups for youth beyond school age—Junior Farm Demonstrators for boys and Junior Home Demonstrators for girls—25 clubs of the former with 350 members, and 17 clubs of the latter with 219 members. And still beyond these are clubs for adults—Farm Demonstration Clubs for men (30 with 326 members) and Home Demonstration Clubs for women (54 with 755 members).

All these clubs are interracial and are under the continuous supervision of the University Agricultural Extension Service staff. The objectives of these various clubs are two-fold; (1) to enable their members "to develop into good rural American citizens and leaders and to learn the best American ways of home farming under proper sociological and agricultural guidance." Reading courses, lectures, socials, demonstrations and recreational programs are promoted; and (2) to promote the financial status of the members and give them higher standards of living.

Already results are gratifying. The members of the clubs "are looked up to as community leaders." They begin to feel responsible for the improvement of their communities in social life as well as in acquiring better farm practices and economic advance. "In general the members are a little more alert, more intelligent, more responsible and civic minded than those who are not in the clubs," says the report.

Practically no overlapping occurs between the 4-H clubs and the Future Farmers of Hawaii or the Future Homemakers of Hawaii, these two groups being urban while the 4-H and correlated clubs are strictly rural.

Kindergartens

Many kindergartens are to be found all over the Territory. There is, however, no all-inclusive kindergarten association. There are, according to the School Directory (September 1936), 45 kindergartens which report 178 teachers and 3,231 children. The Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association conducts nine kindergartens in Honolulu, having a total attendance of 1,001 (1934-35) and 37 teachers, Caucasians, Hawaiians, Chinese and Japanese. The stronger churches also have their own schools for children of pre-school age. Various races run kindergartens of their own. This is especially true of the Japanese. Some of these private kindergartens are said to be excellent. It is also reported that not a few untrained teachers are employed. Of the 1,001 children in the kindergartens of the Free Kindergarten Association, 234 are Hawaiians, 108 Chinese, 462 Japanese, 41 Portuguese, 63 Anglo-Saxons (mostly in one kindergarten) 35 Koreans, 3 Filipinos, 19 Puerto Ricans, and 36 of other races.

All things considered, it does not seem probable that kindergartens are exerting much influence in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race, by begetting friendship and acquaintance along inter-racial lines.

Appendix to Chapter V

A. Employment of Hawaiian-born Youth

The employment of Hawaiian-born offspring of the immigrant classes has already been briefly considered. The following statistics, generously supplied by Professor Adams, throw additional light on this problem.

TABLE X

Employees on Sugar Plantations
April, 1935

	Race or Ancestry	*U. S. Citizens*	*Non-Citizens*	*Totals*
I	*MEN*			
	"Anglo-Saxon"	864	79	943
	Hawaiian	788		788
	Portuguese	2,060	218	2,278
	Puerto Rican	666	95	761
	Spanish	46	46	92
	Chinese	121	440	561
	Japanese	4,320	6,268	10,588
	Korean	54	427	481
	Filipino	113	26,807	26,920
	All Others	30	14	44
	Total Men	9,062	34,394	43,456
II	*WOMEN*			
	Japanese	558	757	1,315
	All Others	197	83	280
	Total Women	755	840	1,595
III	*MINORS*			
	A. Regular			
	Male	1,046	46	1,092
	Female	104	3	107
	Total	1,150	49	1,199
	B. School Children	613	11	624
IV	*EMERGENCY*			
	Part Time Employees	77	208	285
	Grand Totals	11,657	35,502	47,159

It thus appears that in April, 1935, out of a total of 47,159 employees on Sugar Plantations, 11,657 or nearly one quarter, are American citizens. It should be stated that the term "Hawaiian" includes also "Part-Hawaiians" and that the term "Anglo-Saxon" includes all "Whites" except Portuguese, Spanish and Puerto Ricans. The small number of employees of American citizens of Filipino ancestry is due to the fact that few Filipino children born in Hawaii are yet old enough to seek employment. Under the term "Minors" are placed the 613 school children—largely boys—who are taking a school vocational course in cane growing. The 285 employees listed as "Emergency" workers are those who are given part-time jobs in order to "keep them off charity rolls."

The following table gives the number of employees on Sugar Plantations in June for each of the years named. The figures include a good many school children who seek vacation employment.

TABLE XI

Employees as of June for Certain Selected Years

Men	1920	1924	1928	1930	1932	1933	1934
Hawaiian & Part Hawaiian	1,322	645	568	557	615	800	857
Portuguese	3,806	1,804	1,675	1,730	2,202	2,174	2,263
Puerto Rican	1,422	1,072	816	842	797	846	834
Spanish	313	89	74	80	90	94	91
"Other Caucasian"	876	1,151	1,292	1,269	900	936	977
Chinese	2,378	1,394	1,038	805	706	666	618
Japanese	19,474	12,781	9,849	8,956	9,395	10,217	10,717
Korean	1.982	990	571	484	442	458	522
Filipino	13,061	19,475	32,149	34,706	34,915	31,818	29,321
All Others	373	198	247	145	65	63	55
Total Men	44,285	39,599	48,279	49,532	49,947	48,072	46,255
Women		3,250	1,928	1,477	1,480	1,522	
School Children		4,400	5,938	4,724	2,754	4,636	
Regular Minors		704	485	384	811	2,799	
Total Women & Children		8,354	8,351	6,585	5,045	8,967	8,011
Total Employees	44,285	47,953	56,630	56,117	54,992	57,039	54,266

In the first column of the above table, for 1920, the figures for Women, School Children and Regular Minors, are included in those for Men, while in the column for 1934 only the total is given. In the column for 1933 the figure for Regular Minors (2,779) includes 1,487 part-time workers.

Figures of employment in the pineapple industry are not compiled with such detail as are those on the sugar plantations. Since practically 80 percent of the harvesting and canning is done during the three months from the middle of June to the middle of September, great disparity exists between seasonal and all-year-round employees. In Honolulu, for instance, during the month of July 1934, there were 9,120 temporary, and only 1,726 permanent employees. Of this seasonal help 47 percent (4,300) were between the ages of 16 and 20, and of this number 65 percent (2,734) were high school and college students, practically all of whom were no doubt citizens. The other seasonal workers were nearly all women supplementing their family incomes by a few weeks of work. Of these more than half were citizens. Of the permanent employees probably two thirds were citizens.

B. The Sugar Industry and the People

Some facts regarding the sugar industry which have special interest for students of social conditions in the Islands are given in an editorial in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin for August 2, 1935.

> New comers or casual visitors are apt to regard a plantation company as a big corporation operated in the interests of officers and directors. Nothing could be further from the truth. Hawaii's incorporated properties are owned by some 15,000 stockholders. Of these the great majority, more than 10,000 live in the Islands . . . . Thousands of stockholders depend on the sugar industry for a part of their income. The industry employs in the neighborhood of 50,000 people—most of these wholly dependent on it for their livelihood.
>
> The sugar industry is the largest renter of other people's lands . . . . Fifty percent of all "plantation land" in the Territory is rented or leased land. And the landowners who get the revenues from the leasing are large in number. Many of them are Hawaiians whose principal income is derived from their landholdings cultivated by sugar companies.
>
> Few visitors of the many thousands who each year come to Hawaii see more than the superficial aspects of our great industries. They may be deceived by the exotic atmosphere and semitropic conditions into viewing these industries as 'foreign.' Really they are the natural products of Hawaii, developed through generations of effort. The sugar interests of the Islands is this year celebrating its hundredth year. Its output is shipped to continental United States. Nearly all of its purchases are from the mainland. It is truly an American industry, quite as much as the steel industries of Pennsylvania, the cotton of the south, the fruit of California, or the wheat of Nebraska or the Dakotas.

Chapter VI

Political Factors

Development of Citizenship

PARTICIPATION by the various races in the elections and in the administration of the Territorial Government is a highly important factor in the making of the coming race in Hawaii. Citizenship and the voting franchise having been extended from time to time under the Monarchy, it was finally provided under the Constitution of the Republic (1894) as, *mutatis mutandis,* in the United States, that "All persons born or naturalized in the Hawaiian Islands and subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic are citizens thereof." By the Organic Act (1900) creating the Territory two years after annexation, all persons who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898 (the date of formal transfer of sovereignty) were declared to be citizens of the United States and of the Territory.

Thus all Hawaiians, and Caucasians, all race-crosses who were citizens at the time of annexation, some 700 Chinese born in China who had become naturalized citizens of Hawaii, and all children born in Hawaii regardless of the race of their parents, forthwith became American citizens. Few if any Japanese born in Japan were included in this number. Upon annexation, American laws limiting naturalization to foreign-born persons of the White and Negro races, and denying the privilege to all Asiatics, became immediately applicable to the new Territory. In consequence of these laws, therefore, American citizens of Oriental parentage are practically all Hawaiian-born and Hawaiian-educated.

At the election of 1930, the number of persons eligible to vote so far as citizenship and age were concerned and apart from other requirements, was 63,557. Of these, 52,149 registered and 43,521 voted—69 percent of those possibly eligible and 85 percent of those registered—larger percentages than usually obtain on the mainland. The following table shows the number of voters, classified according to race, in the elections of 1930, 1934 and 1936.

TABLE XII

Voters by Race

	1930		1934		1936	
Race	*Voters*	*Percent*	*Voters*	*Percent*	*Voters*	*Percent*
Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians	16,894	38.8	19,444	31.1	18,918	29.4
Portuguese	6,976	16.	10,294	16.4	10,200	15.9
"Other Caucasians"	9,552	21.9	12,276	19.5	11,701	18.2
Chinese	3,697	8.4	5,447	8.7	5,701	8.8
Japanese	6,012	13.7	13,630	21.8	16,215	25.2
All Others	390	.9	1,341	2.1	1,448	2.2
Totals	43,521	100.	62,427	100.	64,183	100.

Alleged Menace of Japanese Political Control

After prolonged research in regard to the birth-rates, death-rates, and migrations back and forth of individuals of the various race-groups, Professor Adams has reached the conclusion that at no time in the future is it likely that the Japanese voters will ever much exceed, if at all, one third of the total number of voters and that consequently there is no likelihood that under our democratic form of government the Japanese group will ever be able to secure racial control of the Territorial Government. The election of Japanese candidates for office will depend on the good-will and assistance of the voters of other races, and on the ability of the candidates to win the approval of their own people. For experience is showing that Japanese voters are ardent partisans and keenly oppose candidates even of their own race who are members of another political party. This condition will make for political purity and also for efficiency.

The foregoing facts and considerations do away rather effectively with the lurid prophecies that before long 70 to 80 percent of the voters will be Japanese, who under the democratic form of government will take possession of the Islands and run them on the Japanese pattern and in the interest of the Japanese Empire. The prophecy made by the Federal Survey of the Hawaiian Islands conducted in 1920 that, "By 1930—the Japanese may constitute 28* percent of the electorate" and that "By 1940 about 47 percent of the electorate may be expected to be composed of voters of this race," and that "From that time on, their numerical superiority will grow very rapidly the voters doubling every 21 years, as children of children enter the electorate," already looks fantastic; Japanese voters in the elections of Novmber 1934 constituted only 21.8 percent. The implication, moreover, that a large body of Japanese voters would be a menace to the Islands is quite gratuitous, especially in the light of the actual character of the second generation Japanese as we now know them.

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* The actual Japanese vote in 1930 was 13.7 percent.

Illiteracy and the Suffrage

Although all persons born in the Hawaiian Islands are American citizens by birth, that does not automatically give them the right to vote. Before registering for the elections new voters must pass literacy tests. These tests are "fairly and equally administered to the peoples of all races," says Professor Adams, "Since most of the immigrants who were not ineligible to naturalization (Portuguese, Spanish and Puerto Ricans) were illiterate, there has never been a large number of foreign-born voters. But as the native-born sons and daughters have reached maturity they have taken a more or less active part in the political life of the Territory."

"Typically, there is a brief period for each race when its few youthful voters receive little or no recognition, their voting being more a matter of ritual—it demonstrates citizenship—than of practical politics. But as the voters of any particular ancestry achieve a little political experience and attain numbers equal to four or five percent of the total vote, the party workers seek their support. In order to secure such support there is the usual use of patronage and the support of party leaders is given to a few young men who become candidates for elective office. Both parties do this, and as a consequence, the new voters find their political participation welcomed by the old party organizations. Because of the lack of previous experience and of the interest that results from experience, and because of the temporary lack of rcognition, there is a period of five to ten years during which the new voters do not register and vote in as high proportions as do the politically more experienced peoples. This is especially true of the women, nearly all of whom belong to peoples whose traditions have been more or less opposed to the status for women that is implied in equal suffrage. Aside from this temporary non-participation, the citizens of Hawaii who are eligible to vote are exceptionally active in the exercise of their rights, 69 percent having voted in 1930 and 80 percent in the 1932 election."[1]

Race of the Registrants

Exercise of the right of suffrage and also preparation for the same have constituted important factors in creating the psychological homogeneity of the people. The following table shows the registration by race at five selected periods.[2]

TABLE XIII

Registrations by Race

	1902	1910	1920	1930	1934	1936
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	8,680	9,619	14,650	19,858	21,836	21,665
Portuguese	594	1,530	3,091	8,111	11,338	11,757
"Other Caucasians"	3,192	2,884	6,795	12,158	15,020	14,587
Chinese	143	396	1,141	4,402	6,075	6 499
Japanese	3	13	658	7,017	15,317	18,698
All Others	......	......	......	603	1,582	1,853
Totals	12,612	14,442	26,335	52,149	71,168	75,059

The degree of the participation of the various races in the executive administration of the Territory is presented in the following table.

TABLE XIV

Races of Elected Executives and Employees
November, 1934

Race and Race Mixtures	Territorial Senators and Representatives and Delegate to U. S. Congress	Members of County Boards of Supervisors and the Mayor of Honolulu	Other Elected County Officers	Total
Hawaiian	2	....	3	5
Caucasian-Hawaiian	5	6	7	18
Chinese-Hawaiian	7	2	2	11
Portuguese-Hawaiian	1	....	....	1
"Other Caucasian"-Portuguese-Hawaiian	....	1	....	1
Portuguese-Chinese-Hawaiian	....	1	....	1
"Other Caucasian"-Chinese-Hawaiian	1	....	....	1
Total Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	16	10	12	38
"Other Caucasian"	15	6	4	25
Portuguese	2	5	1	8
Chinese	2	2	2	6
Japanese	2	3	....	5
Totals	37	26	19	82

"The figures are about what one might expect," says Professor Adams. "Part-Hawaiians have a larger number than would be their fair proportion were population statistics alone considered. The Part-Hawaiian officials, however, do in fact represent the Hawaiians to a considerable degree and are so regarded by the Hawaiians. Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians constitute the largest group of electors and they have the advantage of expereince, organization and tradition—38 places out of 82. Caucasians also have more than their proportionate share of places. But in view of their traditional leadership in the Islands this may be considered reasonable. Portuguese have more votes than the Chinese and also more elected officers. Japanese fail to elect a proportionate number of their race to official position. Comparatively few of their voters are over 35 years of age and commonly only a few of the younger men win elective office. As they come, however, to have a more nearly normal age-distribution they may be expected to have a higher proportion of elected officers. This will probably take place at the expense of the Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians and Caucasians. Men of some of the other racial groups also, such as the Filipino, and possibly the Korean and Puerto Rican, will doubtless win office in time."[3] One Negro, a Mr. Smith, was elected to the Legislature in 1928 and again in 1930 in spite of the fact that the total number of Negro voters in the Territory is negligible.

The race-distribution of the employees of the Territorial Government also throws light on the situation. The following table presents the facts for 1930 (excluding teachers in the public schools).

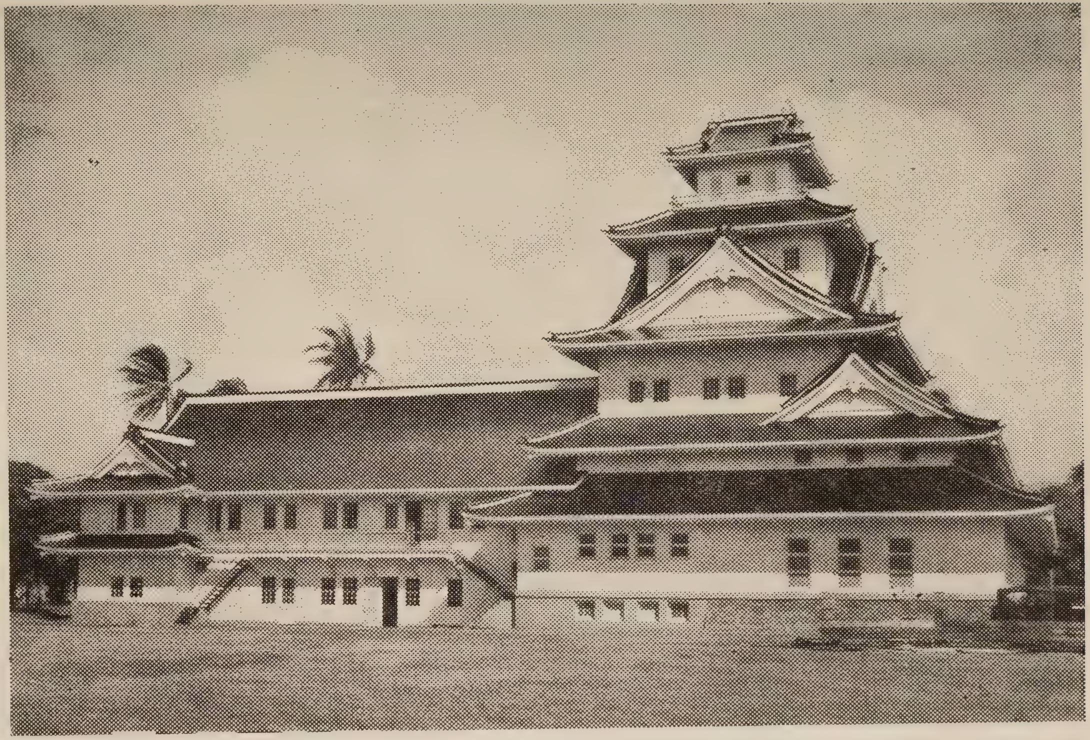
TABLE XV

Employees, Racially Classified (*1930*)[4]

"Other Caucasians"	574	Chinese	163
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	520	Japanese	106
Portuguese	166	All Others	69
		Total	1,598

The "New Americans" Movement

No account of the factors at work in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race would be adequate that omitted the remarkable achievement of the Okumuras, father and son. The father, Rev. Takie Okumura, came to the Islands from Japan early in the last decade of the last century. He soon saw the need for helping Japanese parents, mostly laborers on sugar plantations, in the education and training of their children. He accordingly started the Christian Home for Boys (1896). During the four decades since its founding it has sent out over 1,000 youth who, while in the Home, enjoyed the educational advantages of Honolulu, the educational center of the Islands. The great majority of them are now holding positions of responsibility in every community in the Territory. "On every plantation there are at least two or three," says the report. Scores, however, went to college on the mainland. Some two-score college pennants now decorate the walls of the Home. Many of these "boys" are to be found scattered all



MAKIKI CASTLE CHURCH (Japanese)

over the two American continents, north and south, and also in Japan.

The son, Umetaro Okumura, on graduating from Yale University and from Yale Theological Seminary, New Haven, Connecticut, became associated with his father in the self-supporting Makiki Castle Church and in his father's other activities, the Christian Home, the "Chain Schools" described later, and especially in the New Americans Movement.

The unique Castle Church, resembling a Japanese feudal castle, bears witness to the imagination, resourcefulness and influence of the two Okumuras. Rev. Takie Okumura explains that the first feudal castle of Japan that had a high tower, the style that became popular in the sixteenth century, was built in 1560 by the Christian Daimyo (Lord) Hisahide Matsunaga who had received certain architectural information from Europe. The five story "High-Tower" he called "Tenshukaku"—"the place in which to worship the Lord of Heaven." It was "the first place in Japan to be used as a place to worship the Christian God. Therefore the castle is a most appropriate design for Japanese style of church edifice." This Makiki Castle Church was started with 24 members in 1904. By the tenth anniversary its membership had grown to 500 and the church had become self-supporting. On its 25th anniversary it began planning for an adequate plant for its varied activities. A fine lot of 100,000 square feet was secured in the immediate vicinity of the McKinley High School. Here this first unit of the new plant was erected and dedicated November 6, 1932. The church membership, now approaching 1,000, consists almost wholly of second-generation Japanese. The services are carried on sometimes in English and sometimes in Japanese.

But the outstanding service from the political standpoint rendered by the two Okumuras is the New Americans Movement. No one should suppose that the present happy relations of the large Japanese population in the Islands has come about by mere chance, just naturally, by laissez faire indifference. Leaders, both Caucasian and Japanese have given the matter of American-Japanese relations much anxious thought and strenuous effort. The Okumuras stand preeminent in the program of educating the tens of thousands of Japanese immigrants in the Islands to the idea of bringing up their children as loyal American citizens. The problem of the Japanese language schools is considered elsewhere. Here attention is called to the fact that when in 1919 the Japanese population in the Territory strongly resented the "Americanization" efforts of those Americans who sought to suppress or at least to control the Japanese language schools, it was Mr. Okumura who best among the Japanese realized what was happening. The tension was increased by the strike of Japanese laborers in 1920 leading to an ominous gulf between the Americans and Japanese who began to regard each other with mutual suspicion and much misunderstanding. He accordingly started an educational program for overcoming misunderstanding and ill-will on both sides and especially for developing loyal American citizens out of the second-generation youth, increasing numbers of whom would soon be claiming their suffrage rights.

A Significant Campaign

In his pamphlet on "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem" (1928) Mr. Okumura tells the striking story of his visit to Japan in 1920 when he laid before Japan's statesmen and other national leaders the ominous situation in the Hawaiian Islands and persuaded the Japanese Government to change its laws regarding the citizenship of Japanese children born in America. The new law (1924) declared in substance, that Japanese children born in America would not be regarded as Japanese citizens unless the parents registered the birth of such children in the nearest Japanese Consulate within two weeks. This change in the citizenship laws of Japan did away with the plausible complaints of patriotic Americans based on the evil possibilities of "dual citizenship."

Returning to the Hawaiian Islands Mr. Okumura then carried his campaign of education to all the principal plantations and population centers. In this campaign he urged his fellow-countrymen to give up their extreme nationalistic spirit and "always to think and act from the point of view of the American people, as long as you live under the protection of America and enjoy many privileges and blessings." In regard to the second generation he argued that:

> Inasmuch as your children were born in Hawaii and you expect to work here permanently and work shoulder to shoulder with the American people, you should educate and build them up into good and loyal American citizens. If you dislike your children to live and work in Hawaii, if you prefer them to be educated into Japanese, you should send them back immediately to Japan and have them educated in that country, for when they grow up, they will become not assets but liabilities.

In his campaign in Japan itself, as well as in Hawaii, he frankly explained the grounds of American anxiety and expounded in a remarkably able way the views of anti-Japanese agitators in America.

> America is a country of religious freedom. But can the American people sit quietly by and gaze at the rapidity with which their country is being paganized? Hawaii, a Christian country, is being thoroughly repaganized. Idols are being imported. Temples are being erected in every nook and corner of the Territory and pagan rights are being held. Traditional Sunday observances are giving way to noisy festivals and wrestling tournaments at the temples and shrines. Japanese children who should be taught and trained into good American citizens are being taught Japanese ideals and ideas. . . . Since the prohibition law went into effect and America became dry, 75 percent of the offenders engaged in the illicit liquor traffic (in Hawaii) are Japanese. A majority of the offenders in gambling cases are also Japanese. Without eradicating these sources of irritation, Japanese cannot hope to escape the odium that they are an unassimilable and undesirable people.

Again and again Mr. Okumura reminded his fellow-countrymen of the words of both Viscount Shibusawa and Prince Tokugawa—"We are guests of this land. If you constantly follow this principle you would not err, you would not become a great nuisance to any community." By means of such arguments as these he led the large majority of the Japanese to understand the reasons why American patriots resented the efforts of Japanese nationalists and especially of jingoistic agitators and certain Buddhist priests and teachers in the language schools, to cultivate among Japanese children loyalty to Japan and worship of the Japanese Emperor. This educational campaign, vigorously continued for half a dozen years, was so successful that important changes took place in the policies of the language schools. After the promulgation in Japan of the new citizenship laws the Okumuras pushed a program of "expatriation," as a result of which, thousands of second-generation Japanese, born before 1924, have officially renounced their Japanese citizenship, which renunciation has been recognized by the Japanese Government. The total number of such youth is 5,815 (June 30, 1934) while the number of Japanese children who have become American citizens without dual citizenship, because of non-registration at the Japanese Consulate, is 28,459 (June 30, 1934).

New Americans Annual Conferences

The latest development of the educational policies and program of the Okumuras has been the holding of annual conferences in Honolulu of young men and women of Japanese parentage who are American citizens, in order to help them understand the problems they confront and to stimulate their sense of gratitude and loyalty to the United

States. Ten of these conferences have now been held. They have purposely been kept small, about 50-60 each year, in order to make personal contacts with outstanding leaders practicable. Addresses and round-table discussions have been led by the most significant citizens of Honolulu, business-men and women, educators, politicians, officials and even Admirals and Generals. Among many important addresses at these Conferences for 1935 were those by Chief Justice James L. Coke, Hon. Lawrence M. Judd, former Governor of Hawaii, and Hon. G. Fred Wright, Mayor of Honolulu. Brief excerpts from these addresses are given in the Appendix to this chapter, and also the central part of the resolution expressing the patriotism of the delegates. These young American citizens of Japanese ancestry, youthful leaders in their several communities in all parts of the Islands, have returned to their homes with broadened outlook, personal acquaintance with many of the leaders of Hawaii, and with deepened appreciation of their business, cultural, racial, and political responsibilities and opportunities. The influence of the 500 youth who have thus far attended these conferences, on the entire rising generation of Japanese-American citizens, is already apparent in more active and more intelligent interest in the prosperity and life of the Islands.

The importance of the work done by the Okumuras in helping the Japanese of the first generation to appreciate the realities of their opportunities and responsibilities, and now of the second generation to take up in a hopeful spirit their own peculiar opportunities and responsibilities in making these Islands a happy and wholesome place in which to live, can hardly be over-estimated. This influence is one of the many helpful factors at work overcoming the natural cleavages and antipathies of the races.

The Reserve Officers Training Corps

The R. O. T. C. is another institution helping to abolish race consciousness in the Hawaiian Islands. There are five of these corps in the Territory—in Punahou, Kamehameha, Roosevelt High School, Mc-Kinley High School and the University. The Cadet Colonel in the McKinley High, the highest ranking student officer, is Chinese, and is recognized as "one of the outstanding leaders in the R. O. T. C. in the Islands." The Cadet Colonel in the University Corps is Portuguese-Hawaiian; and of the two high ranking officers, one is Japanese and the other Chinese. "Advancement in rank depends solely on merit."

The race make-up of the corps in any institution depends of course on the race make-up of the student-body. Hence the predominance of Anglo-Saxons on the Corps at Punahou and the Roosevelt High and of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians at Kamehameha. The Kamehameha Girls School takes pride in the four Honorary Colonels selected from its senior class.

The value of the R. O. T. C. in Hawaii in helping to beget a homogeneous people lies in the fact that even in military training no racial distinctions are drawn—all races and all mixtures are given equal military training and are advanced in rank "solely on merit."

The Hawaii National Guard

The Hawaii National Guard is another institution which as a by-product is helping to create a unified people out of the heterogeneous population in these Islands. The organization, activities, purposes and programs are the same as those of the National Guard on the mainland. These include weekly drill under skilled officers of the Army, annual intensive training at Army encampments, target practice, shooting matches and participation in Independence, Armistice, Memorial, and Kamehameha Day parades. The Guard consists of two regiments of civilians who are ever ready under the supreme command of the Territorial Governor to maintain law and order throughout the Territory.

When the present Adjutant General entered upon his duties a dozen years ago he found companies composed entirely of members of a single race. This seemed to him undesirable. He soon effected reorganization whereby the races are thoroughly intermixed in each company. This serves to eliminate race-consciousness, establishing in its place the consciousness that all are loyal American citizens, serving the country as patriots and not as members of this or that race.

The racial make-up of the Hawaii National Guard, as of June 30, 1935, is shown in the table on page 95. Of the 1522 enlisted men, 627 were Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, 536 were Caucasians, 283 were Orientals and 76 were members of other races including Negroes.

Two points may well be noted:—first, that the relatively small number of Japanese* and Filipino enlisted men is in large part due to the fact that Hawaiian-born youth of these two races are still relatively few;

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* Among the Japanese it was rumored sometime after the War, as I was told by a Japanese now holding a high official position in the Territorial Government, that local authorities were refusing to enlist men of Japanese parentage on the ground that their loyalty was speculative. Since hundreds of Japanese had voluntarily entered the Army during the War, this rumor, whether justified or not, aroused resentment and is felt by some to be one of the reasons why men of Japanese ancestry are not particularly enthusiastic about the National Guard.

TABLE XVI

National Guard by Race

Races	*Officers and Warrant Officers*	*Enlisted Men*
Hawaiians	14	301
Portuguese	7	294
Caucasian-Hawaiian	11	200
Chinese	5	194
Americans (and other Caucasians)	67	144
Chinese-Hawaiians	6	126
Puerto Ricans	....	83
Colored and all others	....	76
Japanese	....	50
Koreans	....	27
Spaniards	....	15
Filipinos	....	12
Totals	110	1,522

second, that enlisted men secure appointment as officers only after intensive training, both scholastic and practical, and must pass a number of high standard tests which include moral character, temperament, initiative, tact, and financial status. These rather strict conditions account for the large proportion of Caucasian officers. The appointment and promotion of officers, the writer has been assured, take no account of the race of the candidate—all depends on personal fulfillment of the prescribed qualifications.

The Hawaiian National Guard is thus in its own way a valuable factor in developing a common mind and common loyalty among the young men of the many races composing this population, giving them a feeling of solidarity and responsibility as American citizens in maintaining law and order and in supporting the regularly established Territorial Government. This is a service of genuine importance in the making of the coming Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Appendix to Chapter VI

A. Ninth Annual Conference of New Americans

So significant was the Ninth Annual Conference of the New Americans held in Honolulu, July 15-20, 1935, that extracts from a few of the addresses seem desirable.

From the Address by Chief Justice James L. Coke

In other words, there should be no discrimination at the polls either by the voters of Japanese descent, Hawaiian descent, Chinese descent, or of any other descent. I have, during the short tenure of my office, endeavored to practice what I now preach. It happens to be my duty as District Justice to appoint the Chief Magistrates throughout the

Territory. So far I have made ten or eleven appointments and in two instances I have appointed young men of Japanese descent, the first being that of Judge Okino, who a year ago was commissioned by me District Magistrate of Puna, Hawaii, and who has conducted the office with entire satisfaction and with conspicuous ability. I believe this is the first instance where a person of Japanese descent has been appointed to a judicial position under the American flag.

The second appointment was that of Yoshikane, as second District Magistrate of Wailuku, Maui . . . . Knowing him, as I do, I have no doubt that he will acquit himself most creditably. I am making mention of these facts to indicate that in my opinion the merit system should prevail in this Territory and that as the years come and go, you by right should and undoubtedly will, have an increasing part in and responsibility for the administration of the affairs of your native Islands.

From the Address by Hon. G. Fred Wright, Mayor of Honolulu

Your actions and sayings are being unduly scrutinized and ofttimes criticised by those who are apt to forget that they themselves are far from being the kind of citizens that they expect you to be. Be that as it may, it is well for you to brace up and face the situation unflinchingly, realizing that pioneering is necessarily fraught with disagreeable and unpleasant things. Unreasonable criticism, lack of appreciation, lack of employment, discrimination and the like are bound to bring discouragement and pessimism. But he who can smile in the face of adversity is a true pioneer and it is he who will scale every barrier, surmount every obstacle and blaze his way toward the goal of success.

To those who have been in Hawaii long enough, the question of your good citizenship is no longer an issue. Your enviable school record, your excellent crime record, your hearty participation in civic and welfare activities, your prowess in American sports, and above all the judicious manner in which you have heretofore exercised your suffrage, fully demonstrate that you now constitute a useful and important cog in the wheel of American citizenship. These qualities are not known to most of the malahinis (new comers who have not acquired the Hawaiian ideals and Aloha spirit) and hence it appears difficult for them to understand that people of Oriental derivation could live, speak, think and act as Americans . Consequently you must expect to hear adverse and derogatory statements. Patience and perseverance, however, will soon offset their disheartening effect, and in the years to come, your progenies will look back into your history with admiration and gratitude.

From the Address by Hon. Lawrence M. Judd, Recent Governor of Hawaii

Recently I returned to Honolulu after delivering several addresses in certain sections of the mainland. Among other things, I made the following statements:

There are those who fear that Hawaii as a State would be dominated by citizens of Oriental extraction and that this would be a menace. These misapprehensions are based on the theory that second and third generation American-born Orientals would be loyal to the land of their ancestors rather than to that of their birth. This conclusion, friends of Hawaii maintain, is reached on theory alone. Not a single citizen of Oriental extraction has ever in the history of the Territory caused an incident that substantiates it. On the contrary, the same enthusiasm for America evidences itself among second generation citizens of Japanese and Chinese ancestry as among second generation citizens of European extraction on the mainland.

Orientals in Hawaii are further along in their Americanization than foreigners in many parts of continental United States. It must be remembered that Oriental immigration was stopped in 1908, long before European immigration into continental United States ceased. That was 27 years ago. Foreign-born Orientals in the Territory, having been introduced as cane field laborers, were 20 to 40 years old, and those who survive are old men. Their sons and grandsons were born in Hawaii, grew up in American schools, absorbed American ideas, live American lives, are forgetting any tongue but English. The American idea of equality and self-government, Hawaiians maintain, again has proven itself. These citizens of Oriental extraction for example, are given to frugality, hard work, self-dependence, respect for law. The record in Hawaii shows that fewer persons of Oriental extraction come in conflict with the law, become charges on the community, require hospitalization, apply for Federal aid, than of any other group.

The American idea works in Hawaii. Peoples of various extractions are coming through the melting pot and are taking their places as citizens under the American form of government.

A Patriotic Resolution

The Conference adopted a number of resolutions, of which one expressed "the undivided allegiance and loyalty" of second generation Japanese. Following an extended preamble of whereases and the first resolution, come these words:

> BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, The Secretary of War, The Secretary of the Navy, commanding officers of the two defence forces here, to clarify our willingness to do everything in our power to dispel any prejudice and doubt of our loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, and to affirm our willingness to join the armed forces in preparedness to defend the Territory, our beloved home, and all those cherished democratic institutions which are close to our hearts.

B. General Araki on the Patriotic Duty of Hawaiian-born Japanese

Some two years ago General Araki, then Minister of War, made a significant statement from which we quote the following sentences:

> Those of Japanese blood born in Hawaii or the United States mainland must become loyal American citizens . . . . Should there be any emergency, American citizens of Japanese ancestry should perform every duty which America asks of them and sacrifice all for the Stars and Stripes.
>
> Japan and America are friendly nations. I do not believe they will ever be involved in a conflict. But supposing for the sake of argument there should be a war between the two nations, I hope American citizens of Japanese ancestry will have the "guts" to look upon the forces of Japan as their enemy, fight us bravely, and then if the fates so will it, die for their country.
>
> In the Orient we say, "For a great duty even parents must be sacrificed." In the history of Japan there are many instances of father fighting son and of brother fighting brother in opposing armies in the performance of duty. In the same way, so long as they are citizens of America, those of Japanese blood must show supreme loyalty to America. They must not divide their loyalty because of petty personal reasons. It is the boast of the Yamato race that it can forget self completely in the face of a great duty. As the Japanese cherry transplanted to the banks of the Potomac River bloom even more beautifully than the cherry trees in Japan, you, American citizens of Japanese ancestry, should prove loyal to your new country and strive for the good of America.

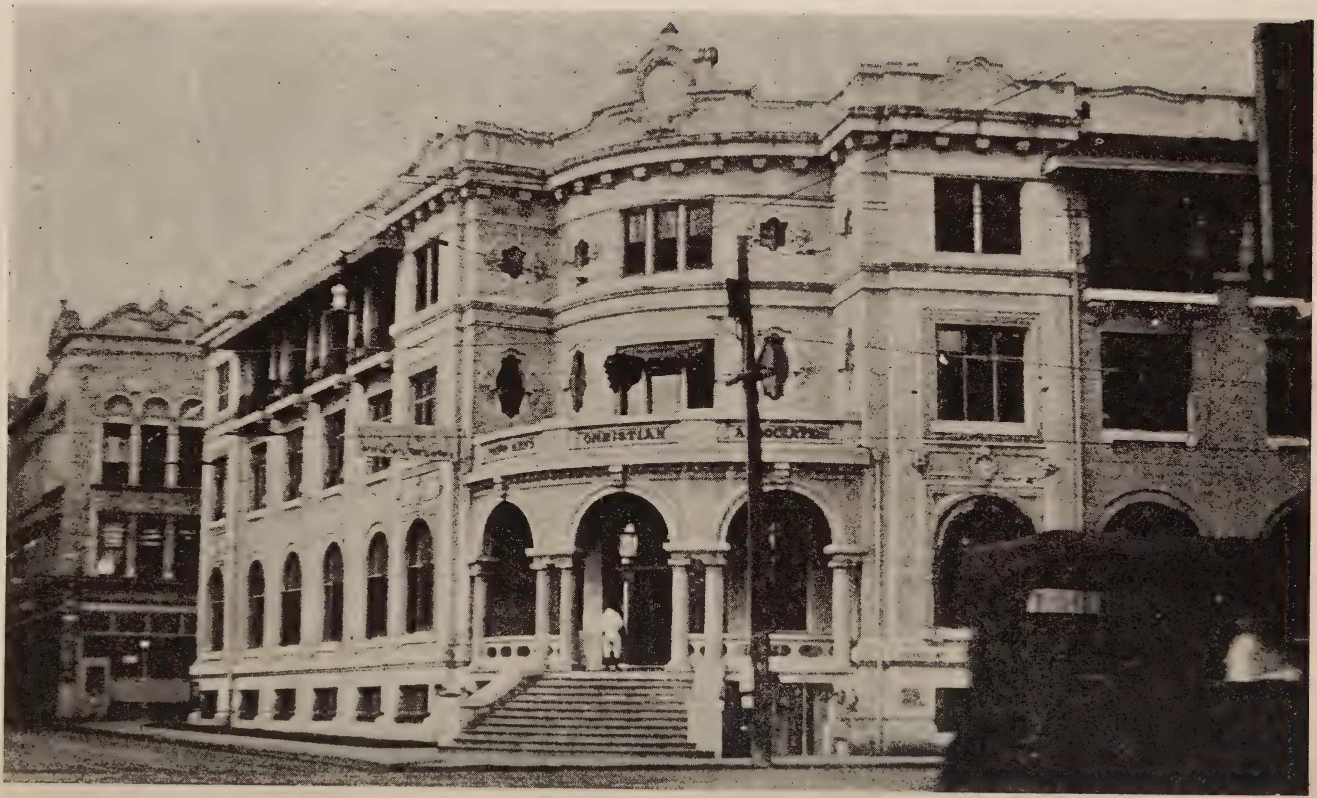
Chapter VII

Social Factors

The Young Men's Christian Association

FEW INFLUENCES are more potent in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race than the vigorous, social-welfare agencies to be found in the Hawaiian Islands. The first of all to be mentioned are the two great organizations, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. They possess splendid modern buildings at the very center of the city, equipped with the facilities and the staff needed for a high order of usefulness. The reports of these organizations naturally and properly stress the physical, educational, moral, social and spiritual benefits enjoyed by the young people who use their facilities, and the advantage to the community of their constructive, character-building activities. As I examined, however, their various programs and saw the young people participating therein, that which especially impressed me was the contribution being made to the creation of a homogeneous people out of the heterogeneous groups that constitute the population of the Territory.

Here, thousands of adolescent youth of these various race groups, so profoundly different in so many ways, are brought into close and frequent social contact and led to participate joyously in many common activities. Quite unconsciously to themselves and entirely as a by-product of the work of the "Y's", the mentalities of the different races, already more or less prepared for it in the public school, are being trained to run in parallel lines. They are learning to think the same ideas on the deeper questions of life, to be influenced by the same ideals, and to enjoy the same sports and social programs. The individuals are discovering that after all, the differences between races are relatively superficial, while their common human nature is the same. They are learning to enjoy and respect each other as individuals. They practically forget that they are members of different races. They make their personal friendships on the basis of personal attraction.



YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The activities of the Y. M. C. A. now 68 years old, are divided into those for younger and older boys, for young men, and for fully grown but still young men. Friendly Indians, Pioneer Clubs, and Comrade Clubs, suggest the types of activities for the younger boys. They use the gyms, swimming pools, and game rooms under the leadership of trained physical directors and "Y" secretaries. A full description of the activities, summer camps, week-end excursions, hobby clubs, handicraft shop-work and other character-forming programs would fill several pages.

The boys of high school age, some 700 of them, are guided in their work in "Hi-Y" clubs and accompanying activities by 35 adult advisors, seven active committee men and one full-time secretary. These 700 boys are of all races but race differences are ignored. All meet and work and play and discuss on a personal basis. Basket ball, volley ball, swimming and track competition help develop the physical side of life. Socials are held both within and also between the clubs. The mental and spiritual sides of life are cultivated in the discussions and devotional periods of the club-meetings. Stress is laid on an all-round development—physical, social, mental and spiritual.

The young men's division also has its own separate clubs, each club having a professional or business man of experience as advisor. Not only the membership of the clubs but the advisors and leaders are drawn from all races. The unconscious but happy results are serving mightily to create a homogeneous people, which, though composed of so many races, can understand, appreciate and even admire each other as individuals. Prizes and plaudits are given on the basis of personal achievements quite regardless of the race of the individual. In addition to the usual athletic sports and meets, stress is laid on discussions, debates, oratory, dramatics, dinners, and of course outings, hikes and campings.

The Association's activities at the University of Hawaii should not be overlooked. In addition to the regular student organizations and programs in that fine institution is the Atherton House, a dormitory for young men of all races. Here some forty of them live together under Association auspices throughout the college year. Under such conditions all thought of race-superiority by any racial group is practically impossible. To get along comfortably with one another, race-equality must be the underlying postulate of all their relations and contacts.

The older men's work stresses service for the younger groups, with careful preparation for it, and also service for the general community. Classes and group meetings are held for mental training, for physical fitness, for the development of religious idealism. Social fellowship suited for this age-group is particularly cultivated. Here, too, race questions though often discussed are not a problem within the groups and clubs. All are working together for a better community and a more wholesome life for the younger men and boys. A vast amount of volunteer service is rendered, quite regardless of ancestry or color or the slant of the eye. These individual characteristics are so familiar and are seen to be of such practical insignificance that they are quite ignored.

The Y. M. C. A. reaches out to all the Islands, enrolling in the boys' groups some 6,000 youth. In Honolulu alone the number of clubs is over 150, the membership running up to over 2,600 youth. There are in addition 57 clubs in "rural Oahu" serving nearly 1,000 boys, while the Honolulu City and County Y. M. C. A. served 3,000 boys and young men during the year. The total Y. M. C. A. membership for Oahu is nearly 4,000. A total of 7,476 men and boys were affiliated as members during 1936. To carry on this vast enterprise a paid staff of 25 is needed, supplemented by 150 volunteer workers. The budget for 1936 was $125,900, and that for 1935 was $123,675, of which $57,150 came from tuition, membership and other fees, and the balance from the "United Welfare Fund" (the Community Chest) and individual contributions. The race make-up of the membership for the years 1931, 1933 and 1935 shows how well the different races are represented.

TABLE XVII

Y. M. C. A. Membership

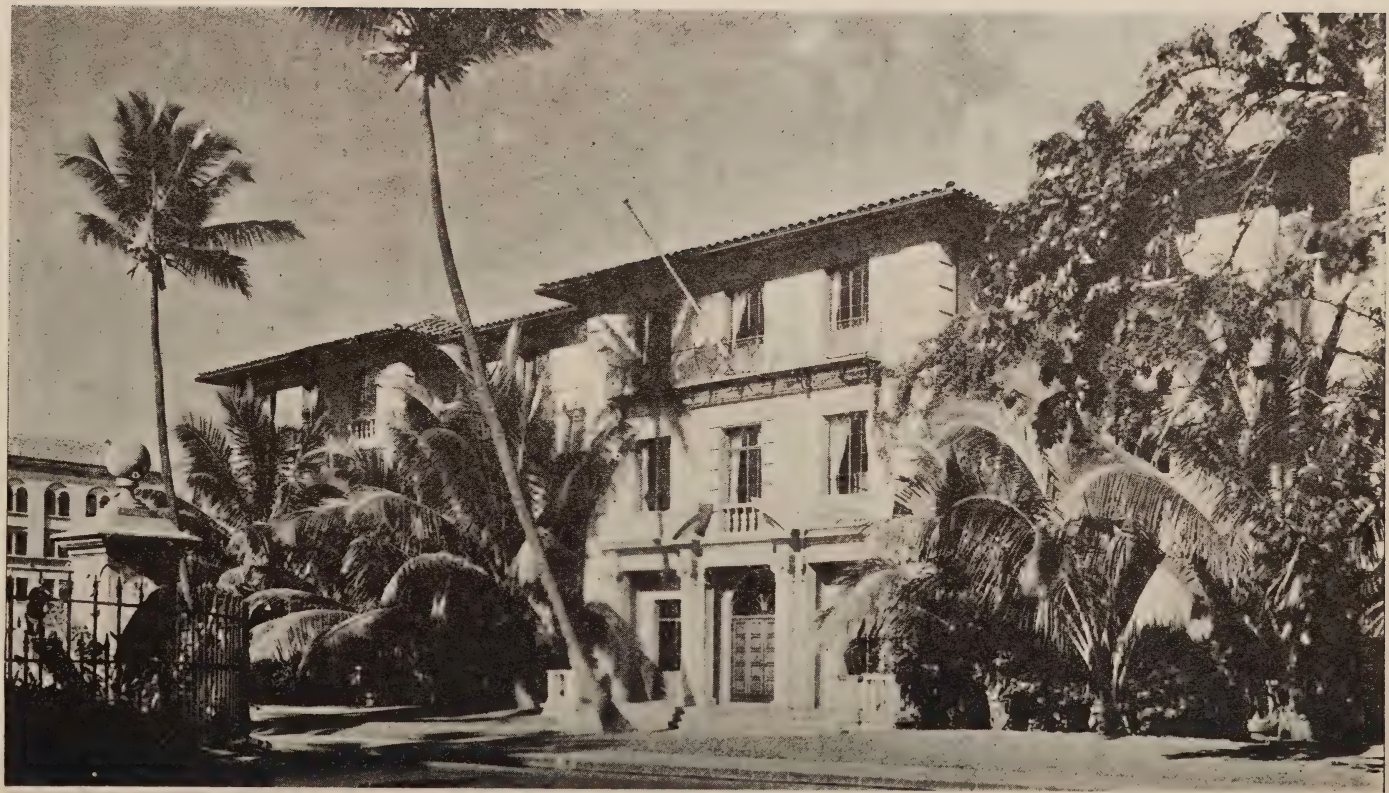
Race	1931	1933	1935
Anglo-Saxon	649	691	385
Chinese	766	729	699
Filipino	105	106	70
Hawaiian	108	104	111
Part-Hawaiian	265	248	310
Japanese	1,594	1,625	1,750
Korean	210	193	93
Portuguese	126	144	141
Others	66	89	29
Totals	3,889	3,929	3,588

The Young Women's Christian Association

The Y. W. C. A. is rendering as significant service in creating a psychologically unified people as is the Y. M. C. A. Its fascinating reports of activities cover all conceivable programs and methods of instruction, illumination, inspiration and character-development. It invites all 'teen' girls and young women to become members by signing the following declaration of purpose: "To associate young women in personal loyalty to Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord; to lead them into membership and service in the Christian Church; to promote growth in Christian character and service, through physical, social, mental and spiritual training, and to become a social force for extension of the Kingdom of God." Yet it also invites to membership as non-voters those who do not feel disposed to sign this declaration. All racial and religious groups and also large numbers of those who have no religious preferences are represented in its membership and clientele.

The Y. W. conducts a "Beach House" where ocean-bathing opportunities and health privileges were enjoyed by 14,589 girls in 1934. The cafeteria, conducted primarily for the benefit of the business girls is a boon to the entire community. The total attendance for 1933 and 1934 was respectively 58,131 and 58,837 and for 1936, 73,702—of all races and all colors. In the Educational Department 491 young women were registered in 1934 and 569 in 1936. The Employed Girls' Department had 283 members (1934) and the attendance during the year at its regular meetings amounted to 8,868, while the Employment Department was able to supply 1,789 girls in response to requests in 1934 and 1,723 in 1936. The Girl Reserves is perhaps the most flourishing Department, "covering the Island (Oahu) with a cloud of blue triangles". Membership in the 47 clubs amounted to 1,619 with attendance on meetings of 52,353. "The largest single group is Protestant, and yet equally large is the group with no religious preference." The Health Department had an enrollment of 4,146 and an attendance on its classes of 20,796. The University Y. W. has a membership of 123, of whom 14 percent are Hawaiian, 28 percent Japanese, 37 percent Chinese, 10 percent Portuguese, and 5 percent Caucasian, Korean and Filipino members constituting 4 and 2 percent, respectively.

The International Institute renders highly important service in helping foreign-born people to make necessary adjustments to their new environment, in assisting their families disturbed by personal problems, in helping non-English speaking parents in their emotional adjustments to their young people, in encouraging participation in civic



YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

opportunities offered for their development, and in furthering international friendships and understanding by helping all peoples resident in Hawaii to a more complete appreciation of the cultural inheritance and contribution of each nationality. A strong central inter-racial committee is in general control but in addition there are four experienced racial committees—Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean.

Camping, hiking, gym classes, swimming pools and classes, classes for industrial workers, stenography, type-writing, home service, and for general education are conducted by expert leaders and executives. These are some of the ways in which the Y. W. seeks to help the individual girls and incidentally the community also. But perhaps the most significant result of all these activities is in the unintended by-product, the begetting of "like-mindedness" among the tens of thousands of girls—most of them now women and mothers—of all the races and religious groups whom it has helped during the 36 years of its existence in these Islands.

The regular staff consists of 25 well-qualified young women who devote their entire time to this vast enterprise. In addition 160 volunteers render invaluable help. The entire city of Honolulu finds the Y. W. building and facilities highly convenient. Over one hundred meetings of non-Association groups are held therein monthly, with an average attendance of over 26,000 for the year. The budget for the work of the city Y. W. for 1936 was $115,745, of which 35 percent came from the United Welfare Fund and the balance from membership dues, the cafeteria and special gifts.

The racial percentages of the girls registered in the various departments of the Y. W. for 1934 deserves attention.

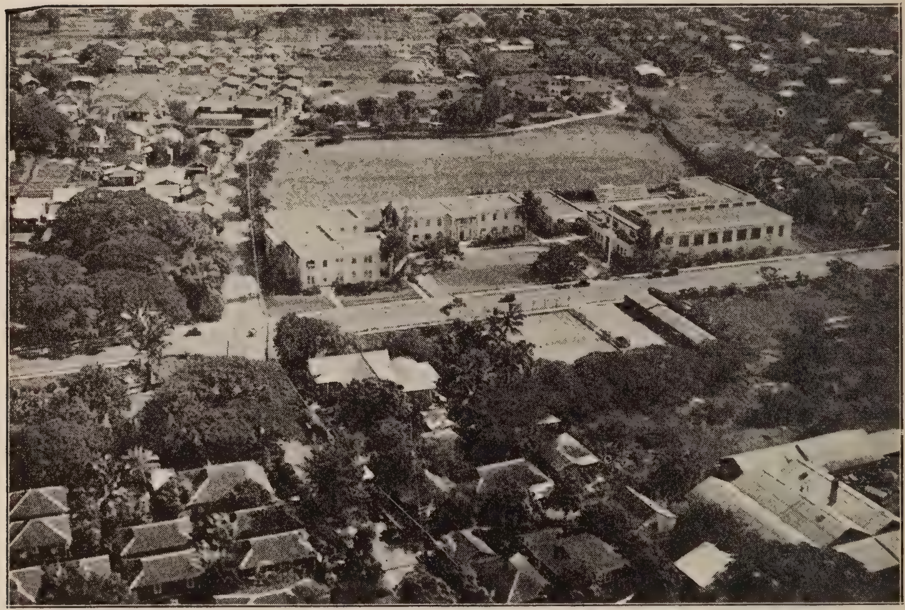
TABLE XVIII

Race	Employed Girls	Education Department	Employment Department	Girl Reserves	Health Department
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	20%	8%	11%	20%	5%
Japanese	32	19	39	34	11
Chinese	20	13	9	22	20
Korean	9	6	3	5	3
Filipino	3	3	1	3	1
Portuguese	6	3	10	4	3
Caucasian	10	47	24	10	56
Others	----	1	3	2	1
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Who can adequately measure the value of the influences of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations in carrying out the objectives for which they exist—in the practical help rendered and the inspiring stimulus given to the scores of thousands of young people of all races and religions? Here we surely see another active factor at work in the making of a psychologically, morally and religiously homogeneous race.

The Palama Settlement

Another outstanding institution for social service in Honolulu is the Palama Settlement. Since 1896 it has carried on an ever-growing program and has become one of the world's notable up-lift enterprises. Its expenditures for 1936 were $204,238. The Palama district, one of the least favored parts of Honolulu, was the home of laboring Hawaiians and Chinese. As contract laborers became able to free themselves from plantation life and to make a place for themselves in the City of Honolulu, families of many races established humble homes in this district on the out-skirts of the city where land was cheap and rentals moderate. Here are now congregated thousands of self-respecting, ambitious but underprivileged members of every race represented in the Territory.



Palama Settlement

The Settlement began as an organized center for Christian activities.

Wholesome life was promoted for the neighborhood, with sewing circles, a choral society, a few boys' clubs, social entertainments, and a kindergarten; and later a dispensary and a primary school, a small gymnasium and a swimming pool. Started by the Central Union Church, after a decade it was turned over to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. Its steadily expanding activities called for an ever-increasing budget and a growing staff of expert social workers. It manifestly was becoming an important unit of welfare work which the entire community was called on to support. A Board of Trustees was established, under whose wise management the Settlement has become a regular part of the City's welfare program. It correlates its various activities with the Department of Public Instruction, the Board of Health, various City and County Departments, the Court of Domestic Relations, the Hospitals, the Chamber of Commerce, the University of Hawaii, the Tuberculosis, Cancer, and Social Hygiene Associations, and the Week-Day Schools of Religious Education.

No brief description of the Settlement as it is today can begin to do justice to the role it plays in the health and happiness of the community. Its ten-acre, half million dollar plant, with its twelve large buildings, is now the center and soul of many types of activity, from plain recreation of all kinds, including swimming, entertainments, music, classes, handicraft and art work; to health clinics and baby clinics; preventative medicine, home nursing, dental care of thousands of public school children; anti-tuberculosis campaigns; vigorous grappling with social evils and diseases; social hygiene education; conferences for prospective mothers, provision for maternity cases, instruction in contraception for married women, voluntary sterilization for health and economic reasons; summer camps, boys' and girls' clubs, hikes, athletic meets, movies, social dances for the young people; training classes for domestic service and a placement bureau; homemaking classes for neighborhood women, and dressmaking classes. What an array of interests and activities! No wonder its budget runs up to $204,000 and its staff, full and part-time, to 120 besides 106 volunteers and 52 National Youth Administration Workers! Over 200,000 individuals, made use of the recreation plant.

Even condensed reports of all these services fill many pages of interesting and inspiring information. Let us glance for a moment at a few selected statistics of the Settlement's activities for 1935.

4315 fee-paying members; boys, 2,693; girls, 1,622.

40 social and culture clubs.
30 athletic leagues, involving 1,211 teams and 6,570 participants.
98 motion picture shows, attendance 29,000.
101 dances in gymnasium, attendance 49,000.

Palama brings medical, dental, nursing, recreation and health education to some 30,000 individuals during the year. It is supported, in addition to private donations, by city appropriations and grants by the Chamber of Commerce, United Welfare Fund and private Foundations. Honolulu's five hospitals rely on Palama for examination and treatment of all indigent ambulant cases. Seventy three physicians of Honolulu have served on Palama's medical staff in the past seven years. Six languages (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Spanish, Filipino and English) are used in notices for the 26 clinics conducted every week. The urge for better health knows no race lines. Medical Department visits numbered 56,113 in 1936, classified by race as follows:—

TABLE XIX

Japanese	9,862	Asiatic-Hawaiian	2,397
Puerto Rican	9,486	Caucasian-Hawaiian	2,378
Portuguese	6,343	Caucasian born on the mainland	1,025
Hawaiian	5,664	Spanish	349
Filipino	5,038	Other Caucasian	1,106
Korean	3,362	Others	5,827
Chinese	3,276		
		Total	56,113

Twenty three racial groups and mixtures are represented in the regular membership of the Recreation Department with Japanese, Chinese, Part-Hawaiians and Koreans leading.

"Palama Settlement", says the report, "appeals particularly to the adolescent group,—and has performed a great service in keeping this age-group wholesomely occupied." Among its recreational methods is its program for social dancing. During 1934, twice each week—Friday and Saturday evening—101 times during the year, the gymnasium was utilized for dancing "under strict supervision of a staff-worker who acts as hostess and supervises conduct, dancing and clothing, and a special police officer in uniform." Many thousands of individuals have attended these dances during the year, the attendance being about 480 per night, approximately 49,000 during the year.

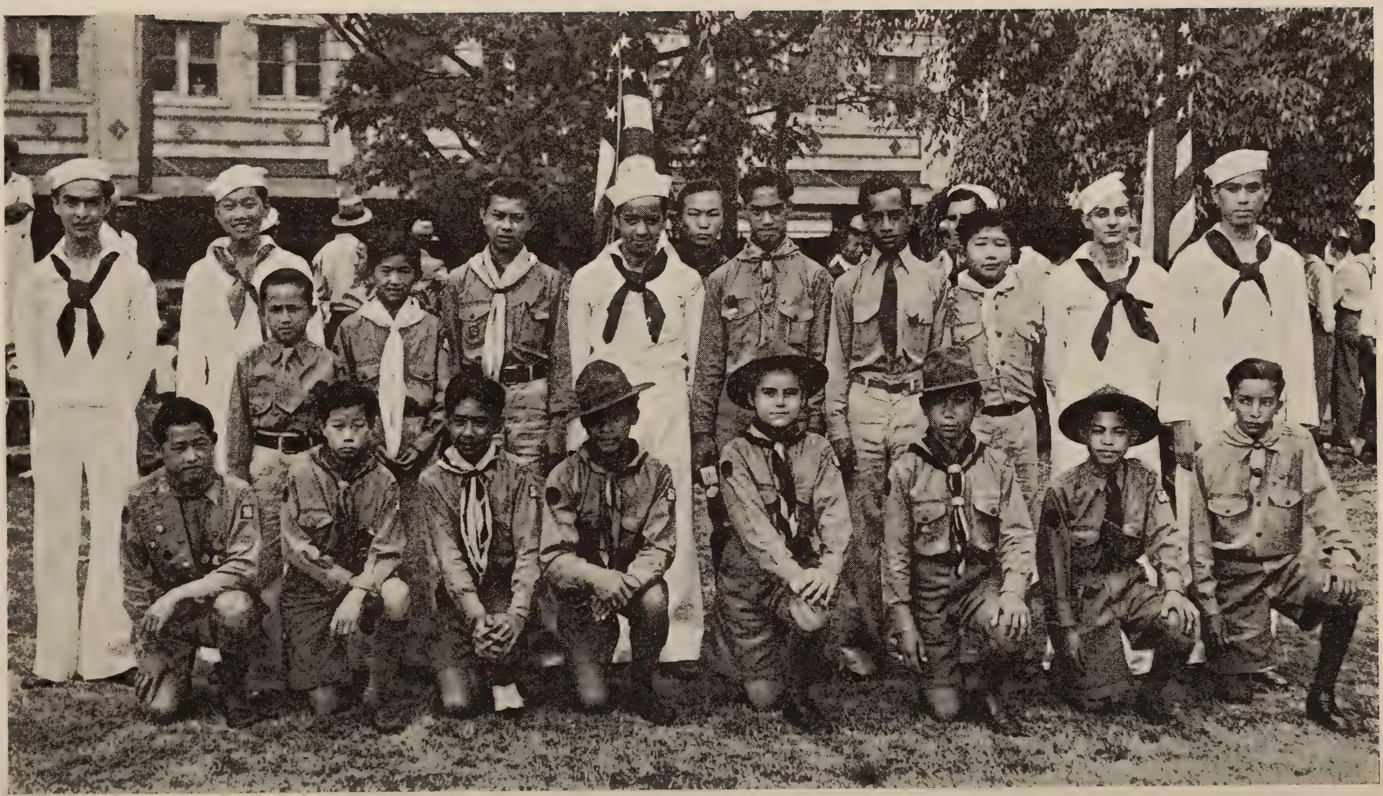
The aim of the Settlement is of course to provide health and wholesome recreation for the thousands of underprivileged, men, women and children, in the thronging Palama district. In so doing, however, it is rendering a notable service in begetting a homogeneous people out of the heterogeneous population. There is no race discrimination in the clientele of the staff. In fact, by the methods characteristic of Hawaii, race is practically ignored—disregarded as a basis of judgment or treatment. The self-respect of every one of every race and color is maintained. No occasion for developing race-superiority or inferiority complexes arises. The value of this spirit and this by-product in the making of the coming race cannot be easily over-estimated.

We close this short account of what Palama Settlement has done and is doing with a quotation from the late Governor Farrington. He describes in the following graphic language a school children's Washington's birthday celebration and parade, engineered by the Settlement and typical of the melting-pot function which Palama Settlement so well serves.

> A brown-skinned lad in buff and blue and powdered wig rode proudly down a palm-shaded avenue—George Washington crossing the Delaware! His army of three thousand five hundred, singing American patriotic songs and *meaning* them, were bright-eyed, healthy boys and girls whose ancestry was Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, Samoan, Puerto Rican, Siamese, Filipino, Caucasian from the United States mainland, Europe and Australia, or mixtures of those races, or others.
>
> It was Washington's Birthday in Honolulu. Citizens were on parade. A polyglot mob? Not at all. An intensely earnest group of honestly patriotic young Americans, the pure-test amalgam pouring into the racial smelting furnace that is Hawaii; typical output of Honolulu's welfare institutions, typical of Palama Settlement, unique public health and social welfare center in Uncle Sam's westernmost outpost—his mid-Pacific Territory—demonstrating without hint of self-consciousness or smug pretense their adherence to the best American traditions, their veneration for the Father of *Their* Country.
>
> This amazing human metal comes from a mill that is equally marvelous. For 112 years or more there has been a spirit forging ideals of interracial friendliness and of mutual trust in this community. It is the spirit of Hawaii which has absorbed one by one the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese and Filipino. Hawaii calls it the *Aloha Spirit.* You may not be able to define it, but you feel it and live it from the time you first sight the Islands. It is a spirit that has become a dynamic moving force.[1]

The Scout Movement

The two great Scout organizations, so popular in the rest of the world, have their enthusiasts in Hawaii also, and are doing their parts in building fine manhood and womanhood among all the races in these Islands.



A BOY SCOUT TROOP—5 Hawaiians, 5 Chinese, 3 Hawaiian-Caucasians, 2 Hawaiian-Chinese, 2 Japanese, 1 Portuguese, 1 Spanish, 1 Korean, 1 Filipino.

The first Boy Scout troop was organized in 1910. It was called the "Rainbow Patrol" because of the many colors of its membership. The movement grew steadily and has now a membership throughout the Territory of some 3,800 youth of all races, while the Girl Scouts rejoice in a membership of about 1,500. In addition to the regular troops for boys twelve years of age and over there are Cub Packs for boys 9, 10 and 11. "Brownies", "Brown Owls", and "Tawney Owls" are for girls under ten.

The purpose of the Scouts is to build well-rounded, resourceful and helpful personalities, courageous, self-reliant and patriotic. The Scout Oath reads:—"On my honor I will do my best:

1. To do my duty to God and my country and to obey the Scout Law,
2. To help people at all times,
3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

The Scout Law declares that the Scout is Trustworthy, Loyal, Helpful, Friendly, Courteous, Kind, Obedient, Cheerful, Thrifty, Brave, Clean, and Reverent. Short paragraphs, simply worded, explain each of the twelve virtues that characterize the ideal scout. The Girl Scout Promise reads:—"On my honor I will try:

1. To do my duty to God and my country,
2. To help other people at all times,
3. To obey the Girl Scout Laws.

These Laws cover in somewhat shorter forms and simpler language the twelve ideals of the Boy Scout Law.

The annual Jamboree (Makahiki) takes place on Washington's Birthday and is a great affair. Thousands of Honolulans turn out to the athletic field to see the Scout exhibition of camp set-ups, handicrafts, knot-tying, fire-making (without matches), mass-signaling, first-aid and life-saving demonstrations, human-pyramid-building, drills, parades, bands, etc.,—an all-day program.

Scout delegates from the Territory attend the National and International Jamborees, thus emphasizing the solidarity of youth the world over regardless of race.

Both Boy and Girl Scouts carry on incessantly, training courses of many varieties, resulting in honors and badges (of which there are more than one hundred varieties) for those who pass the required tests. Boys love their colored neckerchiefs and are proud of their uniforms, especially when rendering community service. Camp-outings constitute regular features of both Boy and Girl Scout activities, affording not only fun but invaluable character-building experiences.

The great annual event for Girl Scouts is the Garden Party on the beach, where an elaborate program is put on, half picnic and half exhibition, including pageants, puppet plays, and games, dances, music, balloons, dolls, needlework, grab-bag, etc., and prizes to successful troops.

Scouts know no distinction of races. Many troops have as many as five or more different races represented in their membership, "and the beauty of it all is that there has not been a single case of racial friction".[2]

The value of the Scout movement in bringing the youth of all the races together in common enthusiasm, ideals and experiences is obvious to any thoughtful person. It is making a highly valuable contribution —though indirect and unpurposed—to the creation among the thousands of boys and girls, now men and women, who have been scouts, of a common mind and of common interests, and thus in the making of a homogeneous race in the Islands.

Sports

No picture of the people of Hawaii or the forces making for the unification of its heterogeneous population would be complete that omitted the mighty factor of sports. All the youth, of both sexes, and a large majority of adults, are "sport-minded". It is even sometimes said that Hawaii is "sport-mad". Saturday afternoons, Honolulu, a city of 145,000, "is resting in peaceful solitude, as devoid of life as the deserted village itself", writes one visitor from the mainland. Then suddenly the scene changes. The game is over. Trolleys, buses, jitneys and autos swarm with people of all ages and all races, talking fast and furiously, some still cheering.

All the standard sports flourish in Hawaii, football, baseball, volleyball, handball, track and field athletics, boxing, marathon, soccer, wrestling, "Jiu Jitsu", swimming, surf-riding, rowing and aquatic sports of every kind, tennis, mountain hikes and golf and polo. Grammar schools, junior and senior high schools, academies, boarding schools, University, Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s, indeed every type of youth organization, and every class in the schools, has its own ball team. Hundreds of club and play-ground elevens take part in gridiron contests.

The Recreation Commission, set up and financed by the City and County government of Honolulu, has the co-operation of the Juvenile Court, the Board of Health, the Council of Social Agencies, the Park Board, the Department of Public Instruction, and of nearly a score of private organizations, such as the Parent-Teacher Association, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. B. A. (Buddhists), the American Legion, and the service and other clubs of the City. The Commission supports a working staff of 60 and in addition has the invaluable assistance of some 400 volunteers. These enthusiastic men and women supervise the recreation and sports carried on at 40 playgrounds. The registered attendance at these playgrounds mounted to the amazing figure of 697,565 for the year 1934. The detailed reports of the extraordinary number and variety of sports, meets, contests, pageants, festivals, tournaments, dramatics, dances, glee clubs, with many special programs and celebrations, fill scores of closely packed pages.

Plantation managers throughout the Islands provide not only playgrounds for the children but athletic fields for older youth and adult workers. Inter-plantation meets and contests enliven the lives of their hard-working laborers.

Swimming sports are not confined to ocean beaches—where the water registers 72 degrees the year 'round—for generous citizens have provided many of the institutions with swimming pools. Football and baseball teams from the mainland invade Hawaii yearly and learn lessons of skill, drive and "pep" from the Neo-Hawaiian-Americans. The Honolulu press, both English and Japanese, carries sport-news as fully and in as graphic language as does the press on the mainland. The Territorial Normal School, now a part of the University of Hawaii, has a course for embryo teachers, in play and recreation movements while the dignified University itself provides a "games information service."

The most impressive and also the most significant fact about Hawaii's sports, however, is, as I see it, their non-racial character. Hawaii's several score races and race-mixtures are all forgotten and ignored, quite out of mind. Everything depends on the capacity and skill of the individual. There is no racial monoply in any sport. The question of the sportsman's race does not enter into the picture, nor does it enter into the news reports. Sports is a great leveller of race prejudices and superiority complexes. Dr. Albert Palmer, author of 'The Human Side of Hawaii,' tells of an illuminating incident.

> A certain plantation started the season with several baseball teams on strictly racial lines. But when the teams made up at the end of the season to play the championship game with the next plantation it was an inter-racial composite based on athletic ability rather than on racial origin. In the preliminary practice the captain, a hapa-pake or Chinese-Hawaiian called out: "Hey, Lee Hop, you pitch and Fuji, you catch; you, Portegee on first base; Filipino on second; Kanaka on third; and you Haole (white man) play short." Then turning with a grin to the plantation welfare-worker who was umpiring he remarked philosophically: "All mix up like Hell." Some of us hope it will be that way in Heaven, too.[3]

Surely, sports constitute a factor of incalculable value in creating an emotionally homogeneous people out of the conglomeration that constituted its population a generation ago. "Play in the Paradise of the Pacific", says A. K. Powlinson, Superintendent of Honolulu City Playgrounds, "because of its universal appeal, its freedom from sectarianism, its flexibility, is providing channels for the meeting of human needs which make it one of the most vital constructive forces of the age."[4]

Other Institutions

In addition to the several social service institutions described above mention should be made of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Pan-Pacific Union (founded in 1917), the Institute of Pacific Relations (founded in 1924), and the important dailies—the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, the Honolulu Advertiser, the Nippu Jiji, the Hawaii Hochi, the United Chinese News, and three Filipino papers. Each has, of course, its own primary objective. Yet they have also a common important by-product—better understanding between the races.

This is, indeed, the primary objective of the Pan-Pacific Union and the Institute of Pacific Relations. Both seek this by means of conferences. Experts on specific questions are gathered periodically from the different countries bordering on the Pacific. The I. P. R., as it is ordinarily called, promotes biennial conferences on controversial—political problems arising from conflicting national policies. It adopts no resolutions and proposes no programs. The Pan-Pacific Union, on the other hand, does not enter the political field as such, but specializes on scientific and practical questions. It is a semi-official organization, high government officials of the various countries serving as honorary trustees. Invitations to the conferences are issued through the respective governments. The topics discussed are non-controversial. The conferences adopt resolutions and propose programs.

The Pan-Pacific Union's conferences have dealt with such topics as education, commerce, science, fisheries, food supply, surgery, sociology and the like. A conference on aviation is now in the offing. Out of these conferences have developed four, permanent, independent, organizations—the Pacific Science Congress, the International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists, the Pan-Pacific Surgical Association, and the Pan-Pacific Women's Association. In the formation of the World Federation of Education Associations the Pan-Pacific Union assisted indirectly.

Between their regular conferences each organization is constantly carrying on activities which bring together members of the different countries. The inevitable results of these frequent personal contacts is the formation of friendships across racial and national lines, which have already been of real value in the promotion of better mutual understanding.

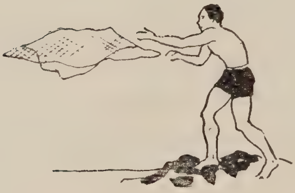
One of the significant activities of the Pan-Pacific Union is its Research Institution, to which the Castle Foundation has loaned (1924) a fine old mansion in Manoa Valley. In addition to providing rooms in this "home" for visiting scientists, there is free dormitory accommodations for a score of young men of all nationalities in attendance on the University of Hawaii. The weekly Monday luncheons and Friday dinners of the Union constitute a unique local service. They bring together members of all races to hear each week some distinguished speaker. The Pan-Pacific Union has its headquarters in Honolulu with branches in Japan, in China, and the Philippines. It publishes the "Pan-Pacific" quarterly.

The I. P. R. has independent National Councils in a dozen countries, all under the general direction of the Pacific Council. It publishes voluminous reports of the researches of experts, preparatory to the conferences, full reports of the conference discussions, a weekly bulletin—the Far Eastern Survey—and a quarterly magazine—"Pacific Affairs." Both organizations, accordingly, establish contacts with many distinguished men and women of the various countries, who become available while in Honolulu, for addresses and interviews. These contacts and addresses give the Honolulu community an atmosphere and a spirit of internationalism well-suited to the natural cosmopolitanism of this poly-racial population.

The University of Hawaii, also, renders a similar type of international and interracial contact and understanding. It brings to Honolulu distinguished scholars from many lands—Japan, China, India, Korea and the Philippines, as well as from the mainland and Europe—who give, in addition to their regular lectures in the University, popular lectures for the general public.

The Honolulu Academy of Arts in addition to its excellent permanent collections of Oriental and Occidental art, provides frequent special exhibits, which residents of all the races visit in large numbers. It also carries on regular programs and educational courses in art and music, both that of the Orient and of the Occident, and also holds exhibits of flowers and plants, which are exceedingly popular.

Such are the more important social institutions and activities which are promoting interracial contacts and understanding. All help in the creation of a common mind and a homogeneous people.



Chapter VIII

The Impact of Protestant Christianity

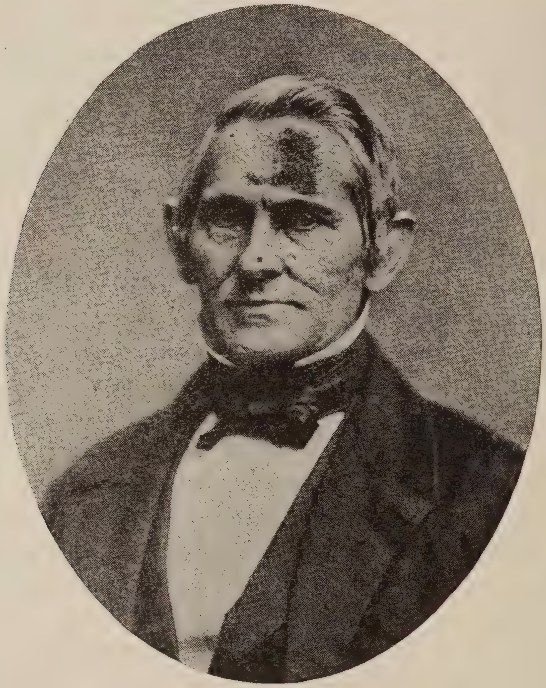
THE SIGNIFICANCE of religion in creating a psychologically homogeneous people out of such diverse races as are found in the Paradise of the Pacific is far greater than is ordinarily appreciated. So great is its importance that it seems desirable to describe with some detail the various religious groups found in the Islands, and especially to note that although in many lands religion is a seriously divisive force in these Islands it does not seem to be such.

Missionaries from New England

On his second or perhaps his third visit (1793 or 1794) to the Sandwich Islands, as they were then called, Vancouver encouraged the belief that he would bring or send the people teachers of the true religion—a purpose unfulfilled because of his death. When the missionaries arrived from New England and asked permission to teach the Christian religion, James Hunnewell, mate of the Brig Thaddeus on which they had come, together with John Young, an Englishman in the service of the King, persuaded the King and his chiefs that these teachers of religion had come in fulfillment of Vancouver's promise.

The first "company" of missionaries consisted of seven couples. Two were ordained men, Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston; one was a physician and four were plain "Mr." One of the families had five children. During the next 28 years eleven additional "companies" were sent out from Boston, the last arriving February 26, 1848. The total number of missionaries and their wives was 149. The ordained men numbered only 38; there were 7 physicians, 5 single men, and 8 single women. In 1852 the children of the missionaries organized the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, popularly called the Cousins' Society. This was done in order to have a part in sending to Micronesia a group of Hawaiian missionaries. The total expenditures of the American Board on its missionary work in Hawaii, down to 1902, although the mission was formally closed in 1863, was $1,577,956.27.

On the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, they found an amazing situation, as already briefly described in the second Chapter. King Kamehameha I had died the year before. The "tabus" had recently been abolished and many idols had been burned. It seemed as though the way for the new religion had been providentially opened. Moreover, among the four Hawaiian youths who had come with them from New England was George Kaumualii, a son of the king of the island of Kauai, who had been sent by his father to America fourteen years before to get an education. The father had long given up all hope of ever seeing his son again. He was, accordingly, overjoyed to welcome him home, and also to welcome the missionaries who accompanied him. He gave the missionaries important help in starting their work, providing them with land for the first station in Kauai, heartily commending them and their teachings to the people and using his influence with political and social leaders.



REV. HIRAM BINGHAM
Missionary, 1820-1843

Lying at the cross-roads of the Pacific, where fresh food and water were available, it was inevitable that ships from all lands sailing the north Pacific should call. During the four decades between the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook and the arrival of the missionaries, hundreds of white men had visited Hawaii and made shorter or longer stays. They included not only sailors, fur and sandalwood traders, whalers, but as has already been stated the scum of the Occident, ex-convicts, buccaneers, beachcombers, grop-shop and brothel keepers, "black-birders" (slave raiders) and lawless men of every race and description. Too many of them "lived up to the then prevailing motto that there is no God this side of Cape Horn."

GERRIT P. JUDD, M. D.
Missionary, 1820-1845

Archibald Campbell in an account of his experiences (1809-10) says that "the King has a considerable number of foreigners in his service, chiefly carpenters, joiners, masons, blacksmiths and bricklayers; these he rewards liberally with grants of land. Some of these people are sober and industrious but this is far from true of their general character. There were no missionaries upon the island during the time that I remained in it, at which I was after much surprised. Most of the whites have married native women by whom they have children but they pay little attention to the education or to the religious instruction of their children. I do not recollect any one who knew more than the letters of the alphabet."

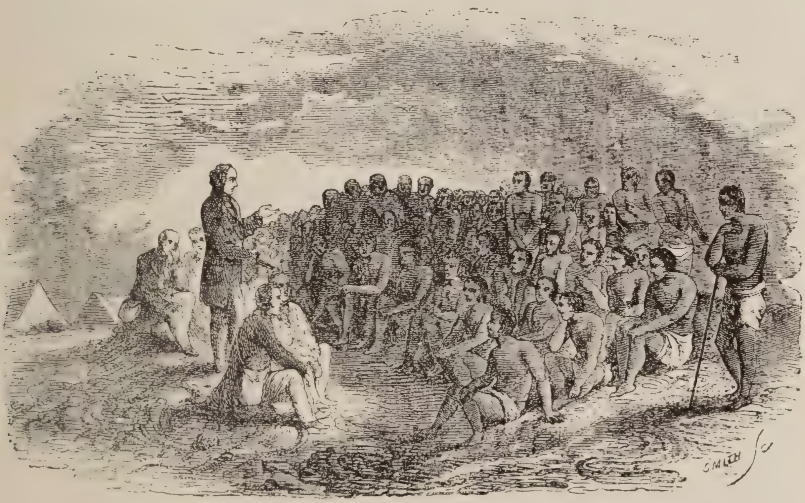
Ready Acceptance of Missionary Leadership

The disastrous results of the white man's practices and example, and the impotence of the native gods and tabus had already become so evident and so irksome to the more thoughtful leaders, that when the missionaries—a new type of white man—began teaching about the one God who created the heaven and the earth, a God of justice, righteousness and love, who commands men to be pure and true and brotherly, white men who exemplified in their lives the precepts of their teachings, it is not strange that they soon attained commanding influence.

Important light is thrown on that situation by the recent discoveries of J. Frank Stimson, of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, which prove conclusively that an early wave of Polynesians brought with it from the Asiatic mainland a monotheistic religion. The traditions were preserved as a secret, esoteric faith, handed down from father to son, only among priests and nobles. It inculcated lofty philosophical ideas and a thoroughgoing doctrine of an absolute and ultimate God, Kihotumu, who created the heavens and the earth and all things therein. When Dr. G. P. Judd toured the Island of Oahu in 1834, accompanied by a number of leading chiefs, he called on Hewahewa, who had been Kamehameha the First's chief Kahuna or High Priest. Hewahewa told him that formerly the Hawaiians had believed in only one God. This may have been one of the influences that led the chiefs and noble families to accept so promptly the teachings of the missionaries, and to urge the entire population to accept the Christian religion.

The story of the way the Hawaiian people drank in the new teachings and accepted the Christian faith is one of profound interest to any serious-minded student of the psychological and religious transformation of a primitive people. This story we can here only briefly summarize. It is of especial interest from the standpoint of this study because it lays the foundations for the process now going on under such favorable conditions of begetting a homogeneous people out of the many diverse race groups that in the course of a century have made these Islands their home.

The missionaries did not, of course, win out without a stupendous struggle with those white men who were already in the Islands and had as it were "vested interests." For many years a veritable battle royal went on between the forces of good and evil—between the missionaries and the nobler Hawaiians and white settlers on one side, and, on the other, the vicious and lawless white men with their tools and dupes among the Hawaiians.



NATIVE CONGREGATION IN 1823.

REV. WM. ELLIS, PREACHING TO NATIVES, 1823

> Owing to special circumstances, writes Governor Walter F. Frear with reference to these times, probably in no other field have missionaries received more cooperation from natives or been subjected to more opposition from foreigners. I have elsewhere called the first-score of years after the arrival of the missionaries the crucial period in Hawaiian history because "It was the period of acute contest for supremacy between the foreign forces of good and evil—the missionaries and their supporters on one side, the beachcombers, buccaneers

> and grog-shop keepers (not to mention higher-ups) on the other. Civilized man turned savage is more dangerous than the savage born, and their presence in heathen lands is a greater obstacle to Christianity than heathenism itself.[1]

The missionaries promptly set themselves to the work of acquiring the Hawaiian language, reducing it to writing and establishing schools not only for children but also for adults. A royal decree ordered that "when schools are established all the people shall learn the *palapala*" (books, writings), adults as well as children. So effective was this law that by 1826 there were 26,000 enrolled in the schools and by 1832 there were 900 schools with many native teachers and the attendance had risen to 53,000, mostly adults. By 1846 eighty percent of the people could read.

The Missionary Program and Activities

The missionaries set up a printing press and, in addition to printing leaflets, pamphlets and books, in time, started newspapers. They taught the King and the chiefs about government according to civilized ideas. They persuaded the King and his counsellors to define the rights and privileges of the common man and to divide the land among the King, the chiefs and the people, establishing the principle of the personal ownership of land.*

In due course a regular system of laws and courts was provided, with police to enforce law and order. These latter were opposed by the vicious and lawless elements of the community who resorted to every device of slander and lying to nullify the influence of the missionaries.

> One of them resigned from the mission to become the prime minister and help organize a government for the King which could deal effectively with foreign encroachments. Another resigned from the mission to become the first superintendent of public instruction. Hawaii had the first schools, the first printing press, the first newspaper, west of the Mississippi . . . . At the end of twenty years a great transformation had been effected. In 1840 the Hawaiian people were presented with a complete translation of the Bible and have been a distinctly Bible-loving and Bible-thinking people ever since. The corner-stone was laid that year of the great stone church, Kawaiahao,

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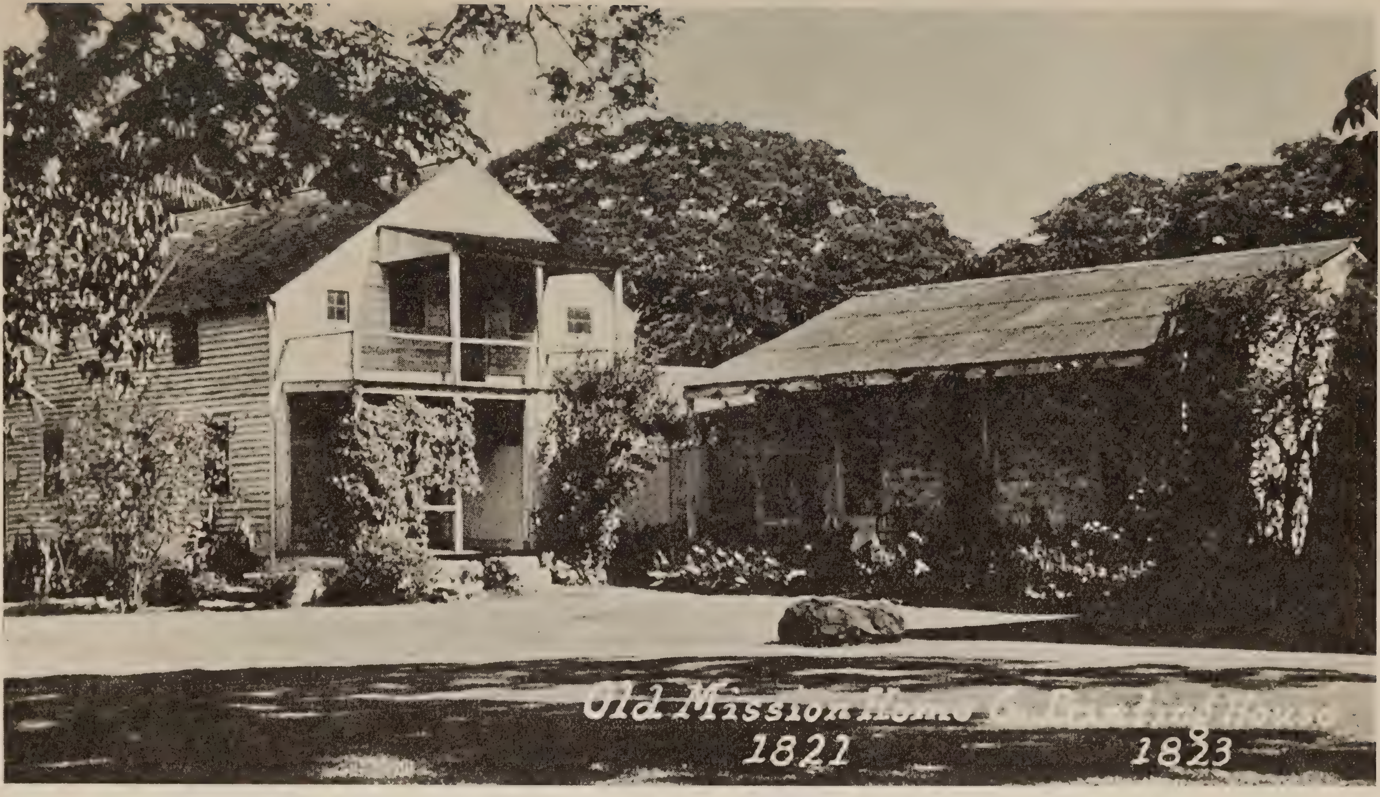
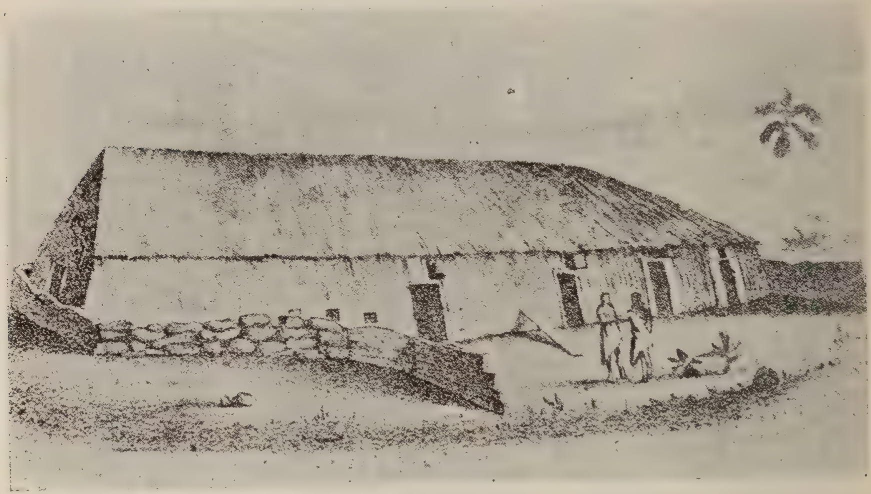
* "Hawaii — A Pageant of the Soil" by Jean Hobbs, Stanford University Press, 1935, gives in much detail the history of land ownership in the Islands. The circumtances of the division of the land among the King, the chiefs and the common people (1845-48) is given especial attention, and also the matter of the acquisition of land by missionaries. The author reaches the conclusion that a careful examination of the material available, and given very fully in the appendices, "will quickly dispel the popular belief that missionaries waxed rich upon large land areas acquired by gift . . . . The lands acquired by the missionaries for special services rendered the government, are . . . . contrary to popular belief in Hawaii today, both few in number and small in total acreage. The popular theory that missionaries acquired land by dishonest practice is unsupported by facts.[2]


Old Mission Home & Printing House
1821
1823

OLD MISSION HOME AND PRINTING HOUSE

in Honolulu, built on New England colonial lines, out of coral rock cut from the reef a mile away. And that same eventful year the King issued a decree promising a Constitution and establishing private ownership of land. What had taken place was a complete religious, social and political revolution, accomplished by educational methods in twenty years, without the shedding of a drop of blood or a single act of violence. It is one of the greatest achievements in human history.[3]



THIRD KAWAIAHAO CHURCH

Remarkable Revivals

During the thirties and forties revivals swept the Islands. "The Great Revival"—1837-38—brought into the churches 19,733 new members, nearly a fifth of the entire population. The missionaries exercised great care in the training of the candidates, seeking to restrain those who were not truly and intelligently "converted." The most spectacular events occured at Hilo where Reverend Titus Coan, after weeks of preparation, baptized 1,705 converts in a single day, using, it is reported, a broom in sprinkling the water on the brows, row upon row, of kneeling candidates. During three years he received into the church 9,091 new members.

> This great revival, wrote Dr. Sereno Bishop, was the spiritual birth of the Hawaiian people. . . . This great work of God . . . . supplied the moral and spiritual renovation . . . . so as to render the nation capable of begetting and cherishing the vast civil reforms which followed in the next decade.

Before two score years had passed, the people thus was virtually a

Christian people, even sending out missionaries of their own to kindred peoples in the Marquesas, the Gilbert and other islands in Micronesia.

School for Royal Children[4]

The King and chiefs, convinced that their children should know more of the white man's manner of thinking and living and would need the best possible education to meet their future responsibilities as rulers, requested the mission to establish a special school for the purpose. The quaint letters to the Mission and to Mr. Amos Starr Cooke throw interesting light on the situation. To the Mission they wrote:

> Greetings to you all, Teachers—
>
> Where are you, all you teachers? We ask Mr. Cooke to be teacher for our royal children. He is the teacher for our royal children and Dr. Judd is the one to take care of the royal children (as trustees) because we two hold Dr. Judd as necessary for the children and also in certain difficulties between us and you all.
>
> (Signed) Kamehameha III
> Kekauluohi (Premier)
>
> To Mr. Cooke they wrote:
>
> Greetings to Mr. Cooke—
>
> Here is our thought to you that you become teacher for our royal children. You are to teach wisdom and righteousness. This is our thought to you.
>
> (Signed by Five Chiefs)

A building for the combined school and home was erected by the chiefs and there Mr. and Mrs. Cooke and their own children lived for eleven years with the fifteen royal children and their many native attendants. The rooms all opened on to a spacious central court which had only one entrance. This was strictly guarded night and day.

Of the six boys and nine girls who entered that school, four became kings (Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, Lunalilo and Kalakaua), and two became queens (Emma and Liliuokalani). Princess Bernice Pauahi Paki refused the crown, preferring private life as the wife of Mr. Bishop. Being the last surviving heir of the Kamehameha line, she inherited the bulk of the royal property. Before her death without heirs, she planned the Kamehameha schools for Hawaiian boys and girls, already described. Emma Rooke, after graduation, married Prince Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) and became the famous Queen Emma, after whom the Queen's Hospital is named.

Instructions of the American Board

The missionaries, as already noted, were by no means all clergymen.

There were doctors, teachers, printers, mechanics, farmers, business men, etc. Their instructions from the Board (in Boston) were comprehensive and statesmanlike.

> Your views are not to be limited to a narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these Islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization. You are to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible with skill to read it; to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits; to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society. You are to abstain from all interference with local and political interests of the people and to inculcate the duties of justice, moderation, forbearance, truth and universal kindness. Do all in your power to make men of every class good, wise and happy.[5]

Thus were laid broad and sound foundations, first among the missionaries, and then among the people of Hawaii, for the new culture and for general civilization. The Hawaiian people acquired this new culture and the new spirit with remarkable speed and with relatively little opposition. This broad charter for the Christian program in Hawaii is entirely free from the narrow-mindedness, other-worldness and theological bigotry that are commonly supposed to have characterized the New England Protestantism of that day, and also their missionaries. E. O. Hall, writing even as early as 1846, challenged those who criticised the missionary work "To produce the history of any nation, horde or tribe, since the world has had an existence, where so great changes and improvements have been peacefully effected, as in this Hawaiian nation." Chancellor Kent, in his "Commentaries on American Law" remarks that

> The rapid transformation of the natives of those islands from being savages and heathens in 1820 to, in 1830, a civilized and Christian people, is very remarkable and reflects honor not only on the mild and teachable disposition of the natives, but also on the diligence, discretion, fidelity, and zeal with which the missionaries have devoted themselves to fulfill the purposes of their trust.[6]

Character of the Missionaries

Recent attacks on the early missionaries disclose lamentable ignorance, as well as lack of sympathy with essential Christianity—the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth as it is in heaven, for which Jesus taught his disciples both to pray and to labor. Those missionaries were men and women of extraordinary conviction and lofty faith. They were characterized by the utmost consecration, unfailing perseverance, unflinching courage, and unflagging enthusiasm. They were "social workers" of a high order of insight, methods and success. They sought to give the people the full benefits of Christian civilization and culture —education, health, social welfare, high standards of moral and family life, higher standards of living by means of improved and varied industries, a stable and orderly government, and wholesome relations with foreigners and foreign lands. "They were lovers of God, lovers of Man, and lovers of Nature."[7] Their theology was that of their times in both England and New England—but it did not interfere with their proclamation and personal exemplification of essential Christianity. What they taught and wrought has been of inestimable importance in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Queen Keopuolani the First Convert[8]

The first convert was Queen Keopuolani (Gathering of the Clouds of Heaven), one of the wives of Kamehameha I, a high chiefess in her own right, her father being the King of Hawaii and her mother being descended from the ancient royal family of Maui. Her son, Liholiho, became Kamehameha II. In 1807, on the occasion of a serious illness, ten men were seized for sacrifice of whom, however, only three were actually sacrificed. When the missionaries, who arrived in 1820, asked the King's permission to settle in the Islands as religious teachers, the chiefs generally were consulted. While some seemed to doubt, Keopuolani "without hesitation approved their proposal." She soon began to study the new religion and the "palapala," receiving frequent visits from the missionaries. Early in 1823 she requested an instructor who could be with her all the time at her home in Waikiki and later at Maui. The change in her life and conversation soon became marked. She took active interest in urging the chiefs to study and accept the new religion. In order "to obey Jesus Christ" she put away her third husband, her first husband Kamehameha I having already died. Some of the chiefs were strongly opposed to these foreigners who were destroying the old customs. One chief urged her to send the missionaries away.

In August, 1823 she was taken seriously ill and died September 16, after having given on several different occasions careful directions that her children should receive instruction in the Christian religion. In her last talk with her son, the King, she said:

> I wish you after my death to be a friend to all the friends of your father, and to all my friends. Take care of these lands which you have received from your father. Exercise a tender care over the people. Protect the missionaries and be kind to them. Walk in the straight path. Keep the Sabbath. Serve God. Love Him and love Jesus Christ. Attend also to the Word of God that you may be happy and that we two may meet in heaven. If you see any of the people going wrong take care to lead them in the right way, but I entreat you not to follow them in the bad way when your mother is gone.

She then turned to the chiefs, many of whom had assembled, and gave them similar instructions. A little earlier she said to Karaimoku, the husband she had put away:

> Great is my love to the word of God, by which I hope my mind has been enlightened. The word of God is a true word, a good word. Jehovah is a good God. I love Him, and I love Jesus Christ. I have no desire for the former gods of Hawaii. They are all false . . . . When I die let none of the evil customs of this country be practised at my interment. Let my burial be after the manner of Christ's people. I think very much of my grandfather Taraniopu, and my father Kauikeaouli, and my husband Kamehameha, and all my deceased relations. They lived not to see these good times and to hear of Jesus Christ. They died without hearing of Jesus Christ. They died without knowing Jehovah the true God. They died depending on false gods. I exceedingly mourn and lament on account of them for they saw not these good times.[9]

To the Governor, Keeaumoku, she said:

> When I am dead let it never be said that I died by poison, by sorcery, or that I was prayed to death; for it is not so. There was much reason for this charge, remarks Mr. Richards, because it has been the universal opinion that chiefs usually died by these means.

As no missionary was on the Island during these last weeks, although she expressed the desire for baptism, the rite was not performed until an hour before her death. It was administered by Rev. Mr. Ellis who arrived from Honolulu barely in time. The mourning of the people with their vehement wailing and the Christian funeral that followed are described at length in the "Memoir of Keopuolani."*

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* In explaining the "evil customs" referred to by the Queen, Mr. Richards makes the following statement: At the death of chiefs their bodies were always cut in pieces, the flesh burnt, and the bones preserved. These were committed to some chief and during his life were venerated or even worshipped . . . . The "evil customs" were of the most criminal kind. It had been from immemorial times the practice, at the death of high chiefs and priests, for all the people to indulge with impunity and without restraint in every kind of wickedness. They threw off the little clothing which they usually wore and none had even custom to shield them from open assault. A man might steal from any place with impunity. Neighbors who were at enmity might take any revenge they could get! It was no crime for a man to burn his neighbor's house, put out his eyes, take his life or that of any of his family. Promiscuous lewdness prevailed extensively. Knocking out each other's teeth was a common and almost universal practice, during the days of mourning. But if by any means a man was so fortunate as not to lose any of his teeth by the violence of another he would with a sharp pointed stone dig them out himself, for it was a disgrace to any man not to lose some teeth at the death of a high chief.[10]

Princess Kapiolani's Defiance of Pele

Among the many dramatic events of those early eventful years none was more dramatic and none more effective in breaking the power of superstitious fears than the *Defiance of Pele,* the Goddess of Kilauea, by Princess Kapiolani, December, 1824. The following account of that significant event is from the "History of Hawaii," by Professor William Alexander.

> Kapiolani, daughter of the great chief, Keawae-mauhili, was one of the noblest of characters of her time . . . . Though at one time intemperate and dissolute, Kapiolani became an example to her countrywomen of virtue and refinement, and excelled them all in the readiness with which she adopted civilized habits and sentiments. In December 1824 she determined to break the spell of the belief in Pele, the dread goddess of the volcano. In spite of the strenuous opposition of her friends, and even of her husband (called the national orator) she made a journey of about one hundred and fifty miles, mostly on foot, from Kealakekua to Hilo, visiting the great crater of Kilauea on her way, in order to defy the wrath of Pele, and to prove that no such thing existed.
>
> On approaching the volcano, she met the priestess of Pele, who warned her not to go near the crater, and predicted her death if she violated the tabus of the goddess. "Who are you?" demanded Kapiolani. "One in whom the goddess dwells," replied the priestess. In answer to a pretended letter of Pele, Kapiolani quoted passages of Scripture setting forth the character and power of the true God, until the priestess was silenced, and she confessed that *ke akua,* the diety, had left her. Kapiolani then went forward to the crater, where she was much surprised to find Mr. Goodrich, who had come from Hilo to greet her . . . . On the western brink of the crater a hut was built for her in which she spent the night.
>
> The next morning she and her company of about eighty persons descended over five hundred feet to the "Black Ledge." There, in full view of the grand and terrific action of the inner crater, she ate the berries consecrated to Pele, and threw stones into the burning lake, saying "JEHOVAH IS MY GOD. HE KINDLED THESE FIRES. I FEAR NOT PELE: BUT IF I TRUST IN JEHOVAH AND HE PRESERVES ME FROM BREAKING HER TABUS, THEN YOU MUST FEAR AND SERVE HIM ALONE" . . . . They then united in singing a hymn of praise to the true God and knelt in adoration to the Creator and Governor of the universe.[11]

This has justly been called "one of the greatest acts of moral courage ever performed." It reminds one of the dramatic events recorded of the great prophets of the Hebrew religion.

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association and the Hawaiian Board

MISSION MEMORIAL BUILDING

The Hawaiian Church was organized in Boston in 1819 before the first missionary band sailed on their epoch-making adventure. It consisted of the missionaries with four native Hawaiians who had drifted to America, had become Christians and had persuaded the New England Churches to send missionaries to their native land, assuring them of a warm welcome. These four Hawaiians returned with the first company to the Islands. As soon as groups of Christians developed here and there they were organized into regular churches and in the course of time a general church association was formed, which took the name of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. In order to begin missionary work of their own these native churches organized the Hawaiian Board, which in cooperation with the American Board of Missions in Boston, sent Hawaiian and American missionaries to the islands of the mid-Pacific, as already stated. When the American Board decided (1863) that its work in the Sandwich Islands was practically completed, all responsibility for the Christian enterprise was transferred to the Hawaiian Association and Hawaiian Board. In these organizations the missionaries had important places, but they were necessarily in the minority. As the decades came and went the pioneer missionaries steadily diminished in number and finally all passed away.

In the meantime the white population of Honolulu gradually increased. To meet their needs and also for the sake of the children of the missionaries, many of whom entered into business in the Islands, a strong English-speaking Church, predominantly of Caucasians, came into existence. This church, the Fort Street Church, united with the earlier Bethel Church (seamen's chapel) to form the Central Union Church. This is the strongest single church in Honolulu, having a membership well over 1,500. The descendants of the missionaries and of the non-missionary Christian elements of the city are largely connected with this church. It has from the first been a dynamo of Christian activity, generously supporting new religious and social institutions for the needs of the rapidly growing city and county, associating itself with every forward-looking enterprise not only for the white population and the native Hawaiian churches, but also for each new racial group as it has come to the Islands.

Organized Churches and Activities

The white Congregational churches of the Islands, in close organic relations with the Hawaiian, Japanese and other churches, have now for many decades jointly maintained the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. This Association provides for the ministerial standing of the clergy and carries on the ecclesiastical activities of these churches. It also elects the members of the Hawaiian Board which is responsible for their missionary work. Thus the Evangelical Association and the Hawaiian Board sustain the most intimate organic relations. The 114th Annual Report of the Association (1936) furnishes complete statistics of these churches, their activities and their finances. Separate but closely

REV. JAMES AKINO
Pastor, 1923-1934

coordinated departments are maintained in the conduct of the work for Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos. The Mid-Pacific Institute, the Boarding School in Hilo, and the Maunaolu Seminary in Maui, established by the Hawaiian Mission, are now independent organizations affiliated with the Board. The Publishing Department provides literature for each race-group, the most notable in English being The Friend,

CHINESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, HONOLULU

a monthly founded in 1843. The total expenditures of the Hawaiian Board for 1935 amounted to over $136,573. The headquarters of this widespread Christian work is the beautiful "Mission Memorial Building," near the historic Kawaiahao Church and the original center of Christian work in the Islands. The number of churches listed in the Annual Report (December 1936) is 121 divided among the race-groups as follows:

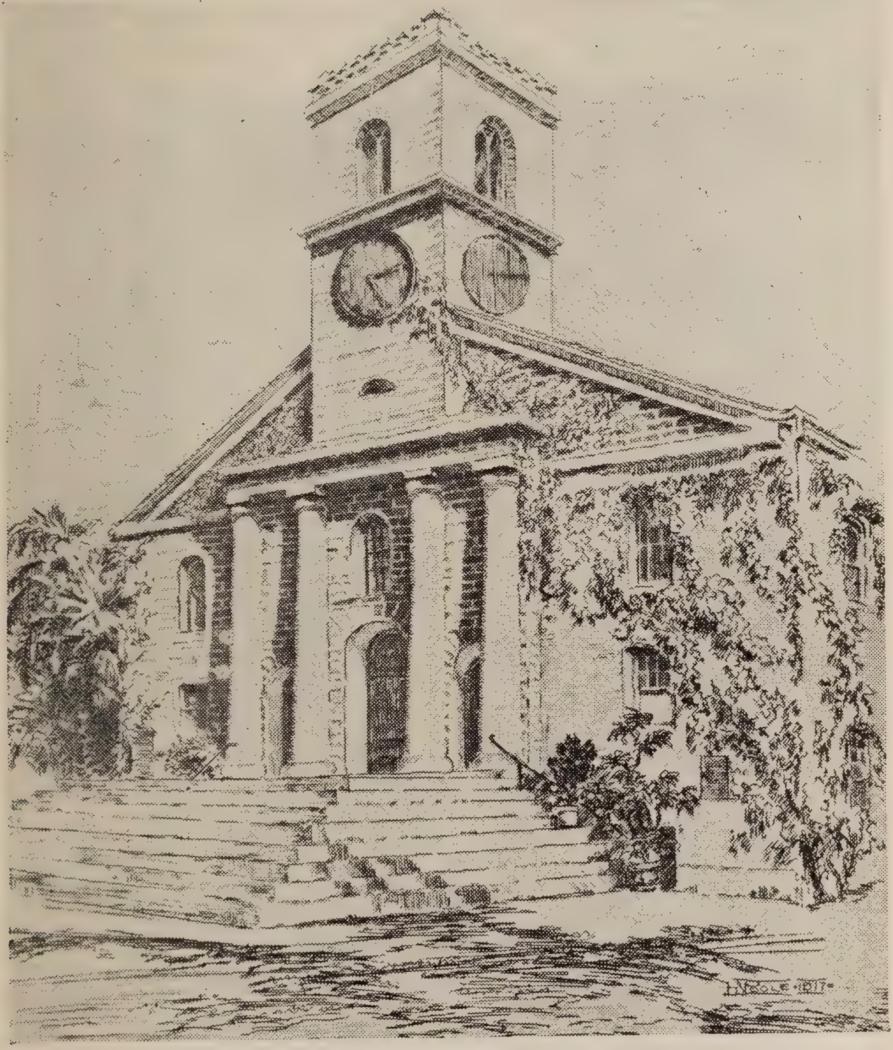
TABLE XX

Race	*Churches*	*Members*
Hawaiian	66	4,594
Union (largely White)	15	3,297
Japanese	18	3,088
Chinese	8	1,260
Filipino	13	865
Portuguese	1	154
Totals	121	13,258

Serving these churches are 92 ordained ministers and 17 licentiates. Of these 109 ministers and licentiates, 18 are Caucasian-Hawaiian, 4 are Chinese-Hawaiian, 1 is Samoan-Hawaiian, 6 are Chinese, 19 are Japanese, and 1 is Japanese-Hawaiian. The value of the church property is estimated at $2,128,000; the amount raised by the churches for home expenses was $144,944. The Sunday School enrollment is 14,579.

These are the forces that from the very first have stood for an uncompromising policy of interracial friendliness, goodwill and cooperation in all good works. The maintenance of racial churches is not due to a policy of race discrimination but to the fact that different languages must be used to reach the different groups who have consisted of foreign-born immigrants whose knowledge of English is at best quite limited. Only now are the children of these immigrants becoming old enough and numerous enough and sufficiently acquainted with English to need religious services in the English language. Not a few of these racial churches use English in the morning service and its race-language at the evening service. In the course of two or three decades practically all the race-churches will be using the English language and their distinctively racial character will begin to be given up, transforming them into Union churches.

The existing racial churches, therefore, are not to be regarded as obstacles to the rise of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race that is in the making, but as a powerful and helpful factor, bridging the period for each race-group between its arrival in complete ignorance of the



PRESENT KAWAIAHAO CHURCH

CENTRAL UNION CHURCH

English language and of the American system of life into which it came, and the time of its complete psychological unification with and final absorption into the common life of the Islands.

What the situation would be today, socially, morally, religiously and even politically, had missionaries never come to these Islands, had the Hawaiian people never become Christian, and had no Christian work ever been done among the immigrants of the various races as they arrived one after the other during the past half century, would be an interesting speculation into which we shall not enter. But it would certainly be altogether different from that which we now see—a Hawaii characterized by the "aloha spirit" and by a rapid approach of the many races toward each other, both psychological and biological, developing under remarkably wholesome and favorable conditions into the coming race.

Chapter IX

Roman Catholic, Mormon and Episcopal Missions

The Roman Catholic Mission in Hawaii

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the Roman Catholic Mission in Hawaii came about in the following way. King Liholiho, having conceived, early in November 1823, the idea of visiting England, promptly carried the plan into action, sailing on November 7, notwithstanding the surprise and doubts of his chiefs and counselors. The royal party consisted of himself, Kamamalu, "one of his queens," several chiefs and Jean Rives, the King's secretary and "bosom friend" who had lived from boyhood in the Islands. Upon their arrival in England they were lionized for two short weeks, whereupon the entire party was stricken with measles. The members of the retinue soon recovered. But both the King and Queen in spite of the best medical care, grew rapidly worse and died. The retinue returned to the Islands with the remains of the King and Queen, but Rives went to Paris in order to form there if possible a joint stock company for the development of his properties in the Islands. The French bankers, unlike the English bankers whom Rives had previously approached, responded favorably to his proposals, the Minister of Foreign Affairs uniting with them "In the hope of a new outlet for French commerce." Two ships were chartered to take the colonists and their equipment which sailed, November 1826, under the auspices of the French Government.

Rives also arranged to have a Catholic Mission accompany the enterprise. To this end appeal was made first in Paris and then in Rome. The request was finally approved by the Pope and the responsibility for the Mission was entrusted to "The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Sacred Sacrament." The Mission consisted of three priests who sailed from Bordeaux on *La Comete,* having as additional members two lay-brothers, several mechanics and a French lawyer.

Rounding Cape Horn, they reached Honolulu July 7, 1827 and promptly sought permission to settle in Honolulu and to propagate their faith. When refusal appeared probable, the *La Comete* suddenly sailed, July 27, leaving the entire Mission behind. By August 30, however, the lawyer who passed as the leader of the French colony, was able to secure from the King the concession of a piece of ground, about an acre, "in the neighborhood of the port of Hannaroora" (Honolulu) where the priests and the other members of the Mission soon established themselves and started their labors.

But even before the arrival of the Mission a small community of Roman Catholic worshippers had been formed, "consisting of both foreigners and Hawaiians," due to the "strange specimen of a Catholic," Don Francisco de Paula Marin. He had come to the Islands in 1791, had been found useful by the King in many ways, and had become a veritable patriarch with several wives, some thirty children and considerable wealth. He was a "queer mixture of religious zeal and human respect, of piety and disregard of Christian morals," says the historian of the Mission.[1]

Four months before the arrival of the Mission, a Mexican merchant had baptized thirteen persons, two of them wives of Don Marin and nine of his children. The Mission, upon its arrival thus found already existing a basis from which to start their work, although not altogether satisfactory.

Two chiefs were won and baptized before the end of the year, one of them, Boki, Governor of Oahu, who helped protect the Mission from the "persecutions" that soon developed. But by the mysterious and complete disappearance of the ship upon which he and 250 others had sailed to collect sandalwood in the New Hebrides, Governor Boki was never heard from again. A period of trouble for the Mission followed which resulted in the deportation of the priests to California, December, 1831. In 1837, however, they returned to the Islands to make a fresh effort to establish their Mission—but in vain, for they were soon compelled to leave again.

The situation having been brought to the attention of the French Government, a frigate, *L'Artemise,* under Commodore Laplace, was sent to the Islands with strict injunctions to compel the Hawaiian Government to establish religious liberty and to give the Catholic missionaries the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by the Protestant missionaries. The frigate reached Honolulu July 10, 1839. Laplace at once issued an ultimatum, demanding $20,000 "as a guarantee of future conduct" and threatened immediate war should the King refuse to sign the proposed treaty which embodied the French demands. As the King and the chiefs were in no position to resist, the money was raised, the treaty signed (July 13) and the frigate sailed away on July 20, 1839, having accomplished its purpose.

A fresh group of missionaries arrived the following year, May 1840, since which date the Catholic Mission has enjoyed untrammelled opportunity to carry on its work. Progress was slow at first but gradually gained momentum through the succeeding decades. The foregoing account is derived from the Catholic historian of the Mission referred to above who gives the whole story in detail.

The So-called Persecutions

It may not be amiss, however, to quote a few sentences from the resolution adopted by "The General Meeting of the Sandwich Island Mission" January 30, 1830 as given by Father Reginald. After declaring that the "Jesuits" are "dangerous to the civil government of these Islands," exert a "deadly influence in drawing away the soul from God's word," "hinder the progress of civilization and literature," are "enemies of sound morality . . . . and of the Religion of Jesus Christ," the resolutions go on to declare that every man is "accountable only to God and his own conscience for his religious opinions and practices, when not leading to open immorality," and that "therefore all coercive measures of the civil authority to control religious opinion and practices, except as above mentioned, are improper and injurious." The resolutions also state that:

> . . . . we do not consider it persecution in the least degree when the Chiefs ask our advice or opinion on the subject, fairly to tell them that in our estimation the Jesuits as a body are dangerous to the civil, moral and religious prosperity of the Islands. But that we advise the Chiefs not to inflict any punishment upon them or upon those who follow them, on account of any part of their religion; but if they break the laws of the land, that they may be punished for that alone. Resolved further "that we tell the Chiefs when consulted, that if they design to send the Jesuits away, as they have said, or that they do by no means consent to their staying here, they cannot in the proper exercise of their civil authority prohibit their preaching or proselyting, if they persist in doing so, without taking away the right of conscience from them, and thus subjecting religious opinions to the law of the land.[2]

Notwithstanding these clear declarations by the Protestant missionaries, the Catholic historian regards them as "responsible for all the important anti-Catholic moves from 1827 till 1850."

Important light is thrown on the entire situation by the fact that from the native point of view it was disloyal for a commoner to adopt a religion other than that of the chiefs. From ancient times "church and state," religion and government, had been one and inseparable. Their separation under the influence of the missionaries had taken place so recently that the religion of the chiefs still had powerful influence on that of the people. The success, indeed, of Christianity itself in gaining popular acceptance was due to the fact that the leading chiefs had become wholehearted Christians. The popular attitude, accordingly, toward the Roman Catholic Mission could not fail, during those early years, to have been strongly influenced by that of the chiefs who regarded with grave misgivings the form of Christianity taught by the priests. Commenting on this situation Governor Frear says: "Perhaps it was only natural for the Catholics, though unable to adduce proof, thus to suspect the missionaries, considering the latters' supposed influence with the king and chiefs and their unsympathetic attitude towards the Catholics. On the other hand, the missionaries persistently denied the charges, and their resolutions supported their denials. There are also writings of a number of them disapproving the so-called persecutions, and indisputable evidence that they repeatedly protested against them to the king and chiefs and that they were largely instrumental in bringing about the Edict of Toleration of June 17, 1839."[3]

Mark Twain's Observations

Mark Twain spent four months in 1866 "ransacking the islands." After hobnobbing with people of every class he wrote a score or more of Letters to the Sacramento Daily Union reporting his discoveries, impressions and opinions. With reference to the Catholics he had this to say:

> The French Roman Catholic Mission here . . . . goes along quietly and unostentatiously; and its affairs are conducted with wisdom which betrays the presence of a leader of distinguished ability. The Catholic Clergy are honest, straightforward, frank and open; they are industrious and devoted to their religion and their work; they never meddle; whatever they do can be relied on as being prompted by a good and worthy motive. These things disarm resentment—prejudice cannot exist in their presence. Consequently, Americans are never heard to speak ill or slightingly of the French Catholic Religion. Their religion

> is not nondescript—it is plain, out and out, undisguised and unmistakable Catholicism. You know right where to find them when you want them. The American Missionaries have no quarrel with these men; they honor and respect and esteem them, and bid them God-speed. There is an anomaly for you—Puritan and Roman Catholic striding along, hand in hand, under the banner of the Cross.[4]

Progress—Churches—Schools

Having secured by treaty the right of religious liberty and free propaganda the Catholic Mission soon spread out all over the Islands.

In spite of the fact that "many neophytes apostatized here and there, the total number in the Islands went on increasing and was estimated at 7,000 in the Spring of 1845." Their first printing press was mounted November 5, 1841 and various Catholic booklets, catechisms, prayer-books and periodicals began to be published. Schools also were opened in many centers. A boarding school was started in 1859 and later the College of Ahuimanu, the forerunner of the College of St. Louis, which was founded in 1881. Of the 210 schools in the Islands in 1880, 10 were "under the auspices of the Catholic Mission"—English being the medium of instruction. "Some of the Hawaiian Government schools were in reality Catholic schools." For many years aid was given the

Catholic Cathedral

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL
(Roman Catholic)

ST. LOUIS COLLEGE

College of St. Louis by the Hawaiian Government in the form of scholarships. This aid ceased only upon Annexation.

Church buildings were increasingly erected, more and more substantial. The Cathedral, built of coral rock, was dedicated August 15, 1843, having been some three years in construction.

> During the century of its existence, says the historian in 1926, the Hawaiian Mission has received over $1,000,000 from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Holy Childhood. Beginning, however, in 1914 Hawaiian Catholics made contributions in response to the cries of distress on account of the world-war. By 1919 the Mission began to return somewhat more than it received and began to have a feeling of comfort as if self-supporting.[5]

When Filipinos arrived in considerable numbers the Fathers took up their religious care. Missions for both Chinese and Japanese were started in due course and are regarded as successful. The total number of priests in the Roman Catholic Mission in Hawaii from the beginning has been 138, mostly French, Belgian and German. Six or seven priests of Portuguese descent were born in Hawaii. The present Bishop, child of immigrant parents, was brought up in Hawaii, although not born there. No pure blooded Hawaiian has become a priest. Among the lay "brothers" and "sisters" only a few have been pure Polynesian. In 1926 the number of missionaries listed in the Mission Report was 41, of whom 14 were Belgians, 9 Dutch, 11 Germans, 2 French, and one each were Irish, Polish and Luxemburger. Roman Catholics, as reported, constituted, in 1926, 105,922 out of a total population of 328,444. The following table gives their racial classification:

TABLE XXI

Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians	14,830	Filipinos	48,000
Portuguese	27,170	Chinese	1,200
Spaniards	1,700	Japanese	600
Puerto Ricans	6,300	Koreans	100
Nordics (Non-Latin Caucasians)	6,022		
		Total	105,922

Grade schools (17) are carried on in many places throughout the Territory, with an enrollment of 8,000. The St. Louis College (High School) in Honolulu is a flourishing institution. Its magnificent site covers 200 acres on the rising land back of Diamond Head, giving a superb view of Honolulu and the open ocean. It is conducted by the Brothers of Mary whose motherhouse is in Dayton, Ohio.

The Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary conduct an Academy for girls, having both primary and high school courses with

ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEARTS

an attendance of 185 pupils. The science department "has well furnished laboratories and all the modern equipment necessary to an up-to-date high school." Graduates are entitled like those of St. Louis College, to enter the University of Hawaii. Both the Brothers of Mary and the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts conduct schools in other parts of the Territory.

The official Directory of the Catholic Churches of the United States (1935) furnishes the following information regarding the personnel and charitable institutions of the Mission.

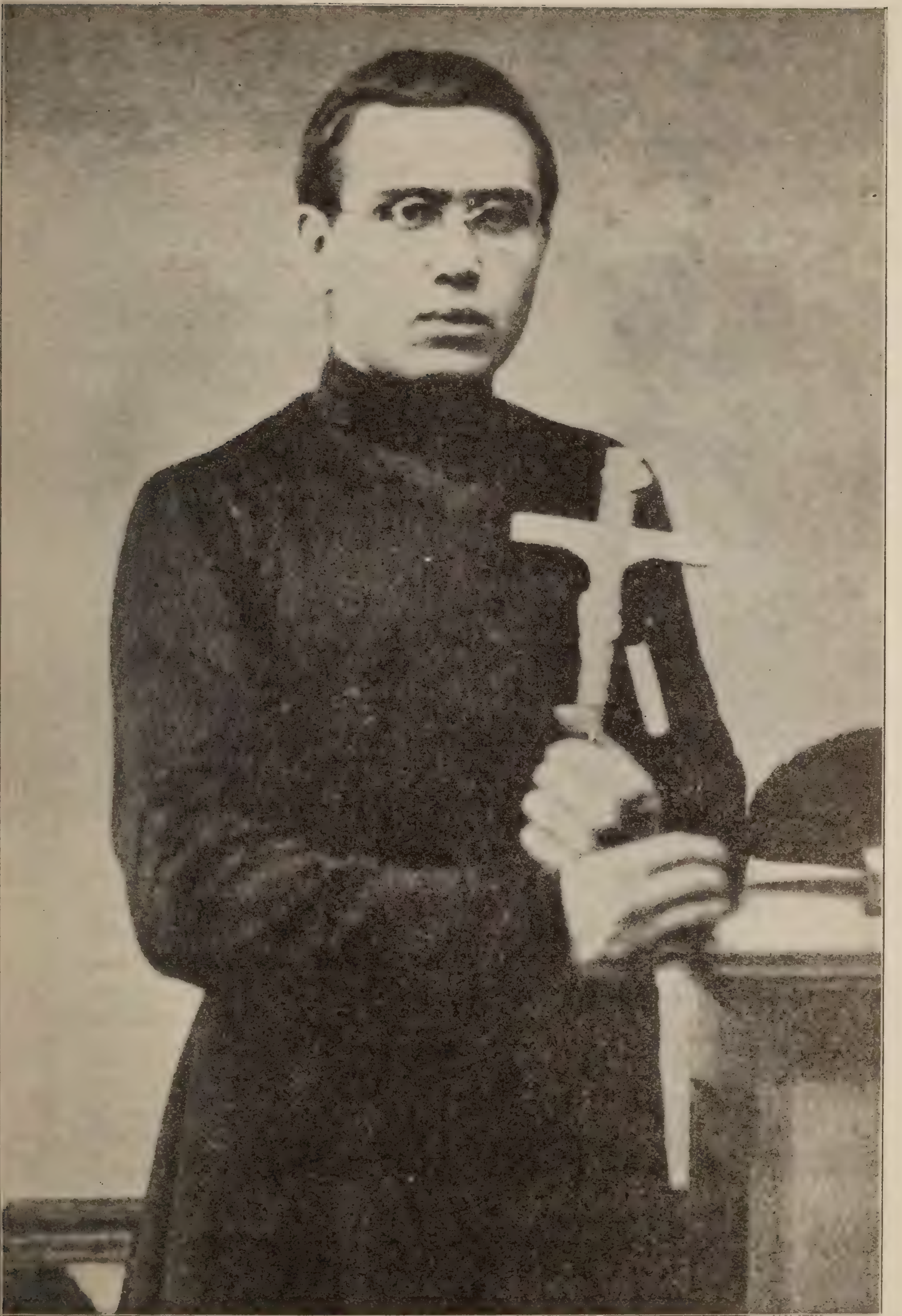
The staff consists of the Bishop and 56 priests, of whom 50 are members of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, 3 are Maryknoll Fathers, 1 is a member of the Society of Mary, and 2 are secular priests (Army Chaplains). There are 273 lay religious workers—63 Brothers of Mary, 9 Brothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, 1 Maryknoll Brother, 94 Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, 42 Franciscan Sisters, and 64 Maryknoll Sisters.

There are, all told, a total of 116 churches and chapels, 36 of the churches having residences, and 65 being without them, the 15 chapels being semi-public. There are also 2 Orphan Asylums with 155 inmates, and two Homes for Destitute Children.

The Catholic population (1935) is given as 113,226, of whom it is estimated that 32,000 are Caucasians and Portuguese, 10,000 are Hawaiians and 10,000 Part-Hawaiians, 60,000 are Filipinos, and 1,000 are Orientals. The total income is reported at about $250,000 annually, "only a very small part of which comes from abroad." A critical analysis of these figures will be found in Chapter XII.

Father Damien

Father Damien, (Rev. J. Damien de Veuster) is without doubt the most widely known of all missionary workers in Hawaii. This devoted priest offered himself for permanent service of the leper settlement at Molokai early in 1873 and continued at his post until he died—himself a leper. Born in 1840, in Belgium, he took his vows in 1860, reached Honolulu in October, 1863 and was ordained to the priesthood in May, 1864. He first felt the beginning of the cruel disease in 1876. By 1882 the left side of one foot became insensible and by 1886 disfigurement of his person in general became marked. Notwithstanding his increasing weakness he continued to serve the leper settlement and the lepers themselves until March 1889, when he bcame much worse.



FATHER DAMIEN

He died April 15, 1889 and was buried at Kalawao. Upon the announcement of his death "a universal chorus of praise resounded in his honor, exalting him as a martyr of charity". Before he died other helpers came to his assistance. Father Conrardy, a Belgium missionary among the Indians of Oregon, answered his call and reached Molokai in 1888. Sisters of the third Order of St. Francis, whose motherhouse is in Syracuse, N. Y., had already come (1883) to nurse lepers and other sick people. They took charge of the Bishop Home in Molokai for leprous women and girls in Honolulu they established a home for non-leprous girls of leprous mothers.

Fifty-seven years after his death Father Damien's bones were exhumed and carried back to his native land. The King of Belgium, the Prime Minister, and diplomatic representatives of all the Powers were at the wharf when the casket was brought ashore. Then followed processions, memorial services, in the City and Cathedral of Antwerp, and in his native village, with final interment in the Cathedral of Louvain, after the remains had lain in state for forty-eight hours. What humble missionary of the cross ever received a more resplendent recognition by ecclesiastical dignitaries, diplomats, royalty and common people?

General Summary

Any adequate statement of the educational, charity, and religious activities of the numerous Catholic Societies, Brotherhoods, Sisterhoods and Sodalities would require more space than can here be given.

The contribution of the Catholic Mission to the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race lies in its well-known emphasis on universality. It includes all races and all classes in its world-wide organization. The entire trend of its teachings and practices is against race-prejudice, against race-superiority or inferiority complexes. The wide variety of races represented in its priesthood, its lay-brotherhood and its sisterhood, is witness to this comprehensive, Catholic spirit. Having such an ideal, it indirectly yet effectively fosters the practice of interracial marriage. Were the facts available, it would be interesting to learn of the numbers and racial varieties of the marriages solemnized by the Catholic Fathers in Hawaii. Notwithstanding, thus, the religious cleavage between the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the people, the trend of the Roman Catholic influence is to help rather than to hinder in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

Ten elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints constituted the first Mormon missionary group to Hawaii, arriving in Honolulu December 12, 1850. The aim of the Hawaii Mission was, "To bring the blessed message to the white men who were then there . . . . But we found them very few and very unresponsive," declared George Q. Cannon, a member of the first group, in an address many years later (November, 1910). The Hawaiian people however, were willing to listen and eager to learn . . . . Within the period of three and a half years . . . there were upward of 4,000 converts." The Book of Mormon was translated into the Hawaiian language and published in 1855 and a large and prosperous "settlement" of native Saints was started on the Island of Lanai, after the pattern of the Mormon settlement in Utah.

Many difficulties and discouragements, however, beset the missionaries, some of whom left the Islands. In 1858 the remaining American Elders were all called home by President Brigham Young, on account of the "Johnson army troubles in Utah", a native Elder being left in charge. In the early sixties, Walter M. Gibson, en route to the South Sea Islands as a Mormon missionary, "stopped at Lanai and conceived the idea of making his fortune from the Saints on the Islands, under the cloak of Religion. He represented himself as the 'Prophet and Great President' of the Church on all the Islands of the Pacific Ocean and worked upon the credulity of the Saints, swindling them out of every dollar he could collect."[7] His high-handed measures were reported to President Brigham Young, who at once sent a Committee of three to investigate. This resulted in Elder Gibson's "Excommunication" and expulsion (1864).*

A fresh start was made a few months later by a new group of missionaries, since which time the work has steadily grown, the statistics of membership for the successive decades beginning in 1870

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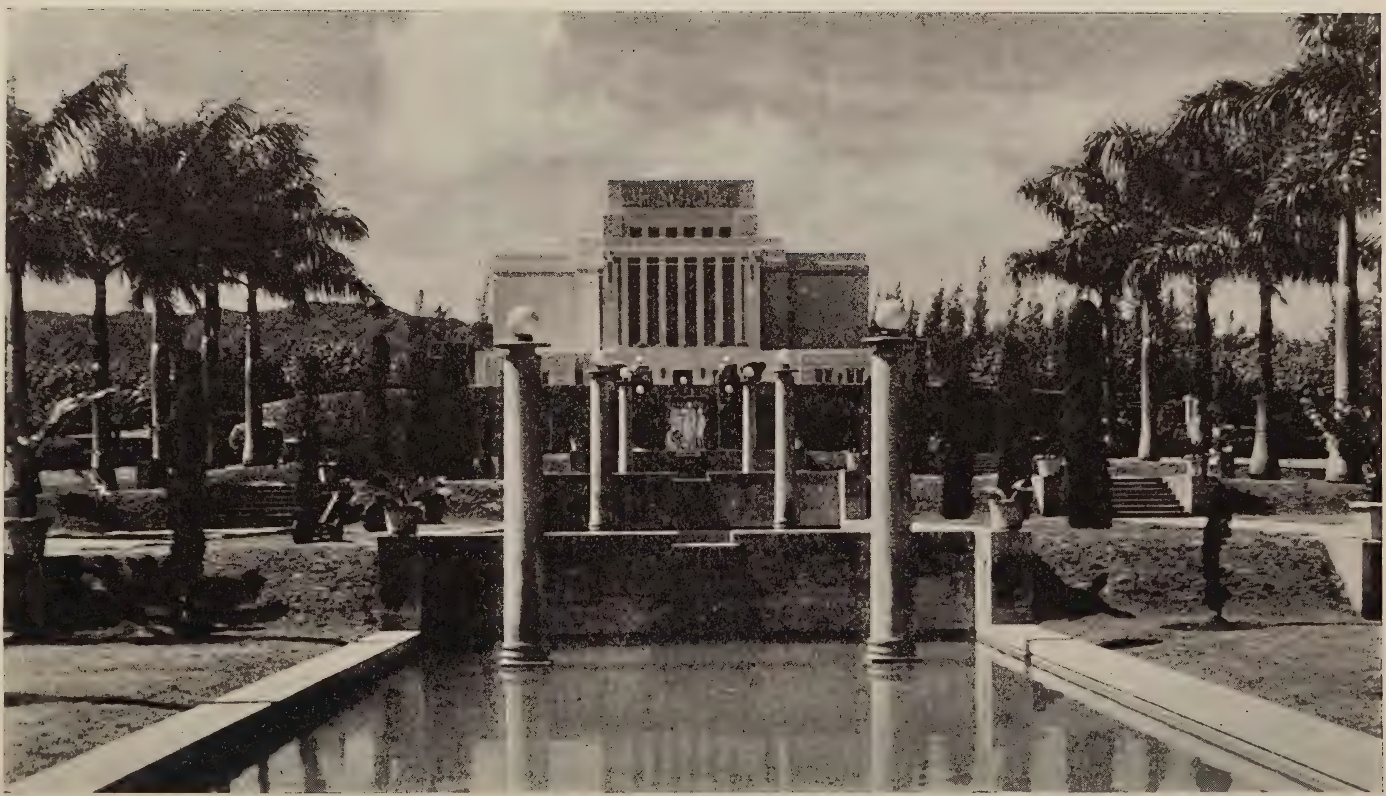
* "After his excommunication from the church he was elected to the Hawaiian legislature from the district of Lanai, and while at the capital so ingratiated himself into the good will of King Kalakaua that he was made premier minister of the Kingdom and minister of finance. He possessed great influence over the King. Indeed it is supposed that it was his efforts to enlarge the prerogatives and powers of the King, that led to the evasions of constitutional limitations, and attempts to overthrow constitutional government, to be accompanied by a return to heathenism, that led to the revoluion of 1887, resulting in the restriction of the King's prerogatives and driving Gibson from the Islands into exile. He was at first charged with defrauding the government in his office of minister of finance, but of this he was acquitted. It was believed, however, that he had incited the natives to revolt against the whites in favor of the King, and such was the state of popular sentiment on this point that the premier was glad to make his escape by flight. He arrived an exile in San Francisco on the 6th of August, 1887, broken in health; and a few months later, viz., January 21, 1888, died of consumption."[8]



MORMON TEMPLE

being 1,611; 3,530; 3,961; 6,978; 8,170; 11,009; and 14,455 in 1930. The present membership (1935) is reported as 13,311. A new settlement of Saints was started on Oahu (1865) on a sugar plantation at Laie, some thirty miles northeast of Honolulu. An exquisitely beautiful Temple was erected at this place, dedicated in November 1919. It was built of lava rock and a light cream cement, at a cost of about $250,000. Here too was located the general head-quarters of the Mission until 1919 when the head offices of the Mission were moved to Honolulu.

The total number of missionaries sent to the Islands since the beginning of the Mission in 1850 is 851, the number still on the ground, August 1933, being 17. Each of the five Mission Districts is organized with a Council and a District Board to supervise the activities of the Relief Societies, the Sunday Schools, the Young Men's and the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, the Primaries, and the Genealogical Committees. "The Hawaiian Mission at the close of 1930 had a L. D. S. membership of 14,455, including 1 High Priest, 1 Seventy, 466 Elders, 151 Priests, 276 Teachers, 527 Deacons, 9,734 Lay members and 3,566 children." The majority of the members are Hawaiians. Part-Hawaiians and Orientals come next on the list and Caucasians stand last in point of numbers. The President, Castle H. Murphy, (recently transferred to the mainland) in a personal letter to the writer declared that "There is no place on earth where the nations mingle with finer understanding than in this cosmopolitan city of Honolulu and throughout the Islands. . . . . In our Church we boast of having a membership composed of many nations, all mingling together in a common understanding, desirous too of preparing the earth for the promised advent of the Prince of Peace. . . . . They are all the children of God and one is just as valuable to Him as another. No man is better than another in my estimation unless he lives better." The aim of the Church, as stated in the Directory for 1934 is the "Work of upbuilding the Kingdom of God."

The Directory for 1934 contains a large number of photographs of the leaders of the Mormon Church both in Utah and Hawaii, among them several group pictures. President Murphy kindly provided the racial analysis of two groups, a District Council and a District Board, having a combined membership of thirty leaders. Of these ten were full Hawaiians, and one was a full Portuguese. The ancestry of the remaining nineteen was given as follows:

¾ Hawaiian	¼ Anglo-Saxon	3
½ "	½ Chinese	2
½ "	½ Anglo-Saxon	2
¼ "	¾ Chinese	2

One person each of the following mixtures:

¾ Hawaiian ¼ Portuguese
¾ " ⅛ Portuguese ⅛ German
¾ " ¼ Anglo-Saxon
⅝ " ⅜ Anglo-Saxon
½ " ¼ Anglo-Saxon ¼ Samoan
½ " ¼ Chinese ¼ Portuguese
½ " ¼ Chinese ¼ Anglo-Saxon
½ " ¼ German ⅛ Anglo-Saxon ⅛ Indian
½ " ⅜ Chinese ⅛ Anglo-Saxon
¼ " ¾ Chinese

The Mormon Church is evidently doing its part in the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

The Protestant Episcopal Mission

The story of the establishment and development of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii has many dramatic features. Prince Liholiho, when still a youth, accompanied his brother and Dr. Judd on their memorable visit to England in 1850. Among other experiences that impressed him deeply were the "stately beauties of the Westminster Abbey and the ancient ritual of the Church of England." He had been educated as a boy in the school for chiefs under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, already referred to. But "his whole heart", says the historian, "turned to the older forms, and while still a very young man he set himself to the serious task of translating the Book of Common Prayer" into the Hawaiian language. He was a fluent writer in both English and Hawaiian and had read with deep appreciation the best English and American writers, including Tennyson, Kingsley and Longfellow.

Not long after becoming King, as Kamehameha IV, both he and Queen Emma, who had also visited England (about 1860) wrote to Queen Victoria asking her "to give all the assistance she could in sending out a Bishop . . . . with clergy." The King proposed to make the bishop preceptor to the Crown Prince"—then a boy but four years of age. These invitations led to the establishment of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of England. Bishop Staley reached Honolulu in October 1862. In the King's first conversation with the Bishop he told him that he had already completed his translation of the Book of Common Prayer and that it was in the hands of the printer. The King spent much time during the following months translating the Bishop's sermons into Hawaiian and making a complete revision of the Hawaiian Prayer Book. Two weeks before his death—late in 1863—he sent to England a box of the books just off the press, specially bound and personally autographed "to the Laymen's Council and the Bishop who so generously helped to send out this Mission from England." The preface, written by the King himself, was a notable commendation to the Hawaiian people of the Christian religion and the Holy Bible.

> Let us see how she (Christ's Holy Catholic Church) felt her way and reached us at last. Our ancient idols had been dethroned . . . . the temples were demolished . . . . there were no priests, for their office had died out. These changes came, no doubt, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, acting through blind, unsuspecting agents. These revolutions were greatly furthered and helped by those devout men who first brought here and translated into our mother tongue GOD'S HOLY WORD; and we, whilst these lines are being written, see the complete fulfillment of what that Bible enjoins in the establishment here of CHRIST'S Church complete in all her functions. Vancouver, long ago, was requested to send us the TRUE GOD; Iolani (Liholiho) then your King, went to a distant and powerful country to hasten the advent of that which our eyes now see and the spirit within us acknowledges, the very Church, here planted—but how long we had waited.[9]

The story of the first services is highly interesting. It must, indeed have been deeply impressive—with the pomp and brilliance of colorful robes and ecclesiastical costumes, the stately ritual and numerous standings and sittings and genuflexions of the English Church, in such startling contrast with the severely simple forms of worship introduced by the Puritan missionaries from New England. "The Easter Service the following year" (1863), writes the historian, "preceded by matins and the Easter hymn at the west door of the church, burst forth in all the glory of the grand choral celebration, with Mendelssohn's Kyrie, the Agnus Dei and Gloria in Excelsis, from Mozart's Twelfth Mass. The service was striking and beautifully sung by the choir."

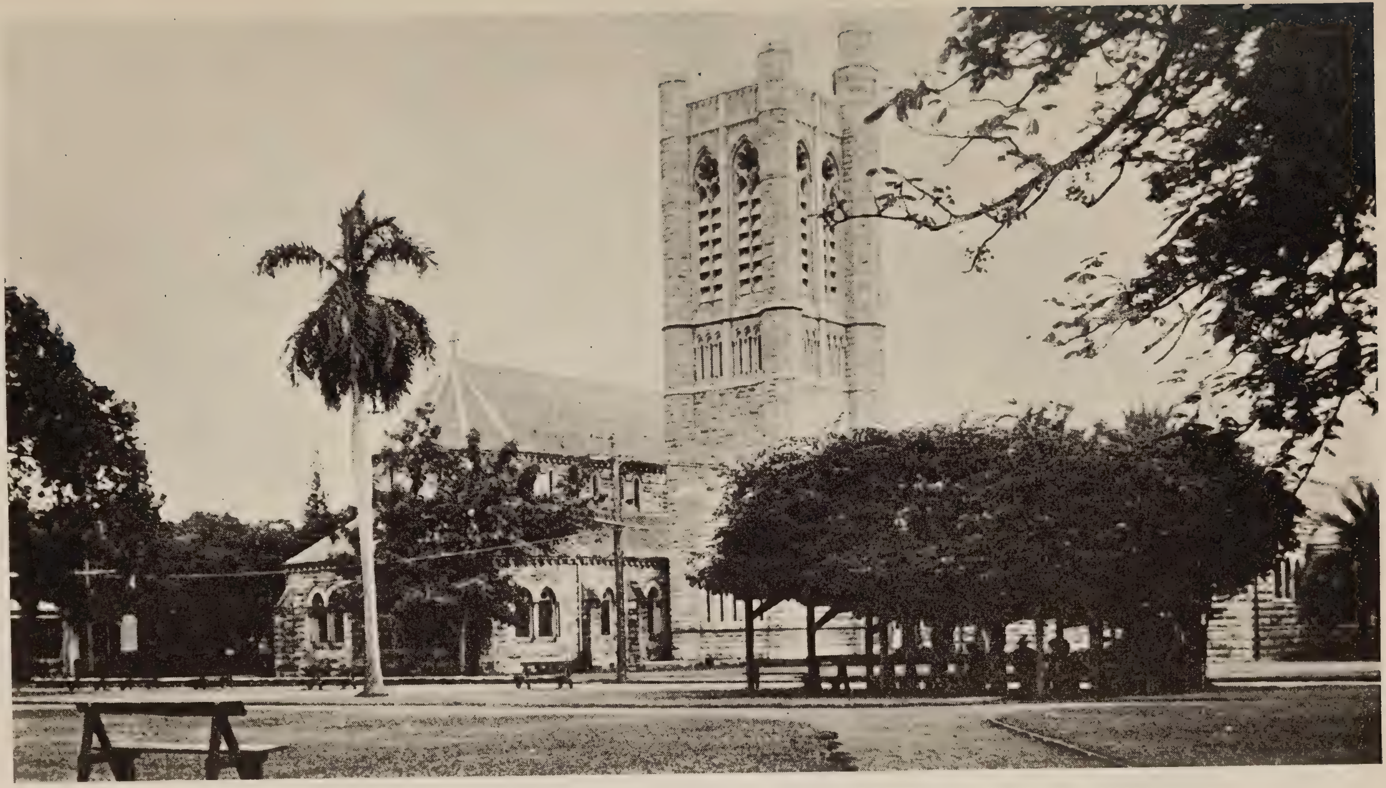
It may seem remarkable that a people apparently so lacking in musical ability (according to Occidental standards) as the early missionaries had found them, should be able in so short a time to learn and render effectively such classical music as Mozart's Twelfth Mass and Mendelssohn's Kyrie. But it should be remembered that for over forty years the New England missionaries had been training the people to sing the hymns of the church. Those whom Bishop Staley used in his choirs had no doubt learned in childhood the Occidental musical scale; and because of the innate fondness of the people for rhythm and "meles" (ancient chants) they were the more ready to appreciate and render the best music of the West. The coming to Hawaii of the Church of England with its trained choirs gave an additional impulse to the musical development of the people.

Christmas also was celebrated in a way that no New England missionary had ever taught.

> It was a new thing to have Choral Evensong on Christmas Eve, the church aglow with all the King's silver candelabra; to chant the Hawaiian Litany and Christmas hymns with a full choir; to celebrate Holy Communion at midnight; and then to form in procession with torchlights, and wind slowly through the narrow lanes of the Honolulu of 1862, stopping now and then to sing carols and offer prayers, and ending up at the palace with crowds following and 'picking up the tunes, if not the words." Although still suffering from the loss of their little son, the King and Queen could at last take comfort that the blessing of these ancient ceremonies was to come to their native land. Even the King, it seems, walked "in the choral procession at midnight, hymning the Nativity of the Babe of Bethlehem."

Progress Under Royal Favor

Enjoying the full and official support of Royalty, the Mission immediately started under the most favorable auspices. A splendid site was given the Bishop for his work. A school for boys was at once opened "where from an early age they could be established in the full Gospel Faith, and also in the English language." The first name of the school—St. Alban's College—was changed in 1872 at the suggestion of King Kamehameha V, to Iolani College, meaning "Flying High." The beautiful Cathedral—started in 1869—which now adorns the very center of the City, stands on the grounds given to Bishop Staley in those early days. A school for girls—St. Andrew's Priory—was established in 1867 upon the arrival of three "Sisters" especially sent from England for this undertaking. The buildings are located on Queen Emma Square between the Cathedral and the handsome residence of the Bishop. The chapel services of the Priory are held in the Cathedral every morning. The broad appeals of the two schools and their interracial character appear in the figures of enrollment (1934-35).



ST. ANDREWS CATHEDRAL (Episcopal)

TABLE XXII

Iolani School

Racial Classification	
Japanese	62
Chinese	43
Hawaiian	4
Part-Hawaiian	37
Korean	4
Portuguese	2
Caucasian	127
All others	2
Total	281

Religious Affiliations	
Episcopal	76
Methodist	16
Roman Catholic	11
Congregational	12
Presbyterian	4
United Brethren	2
Baptist	3
Lutheran	2
Christian Science	2
Unitarian	1
Christian (no preference)	78
Buddhist	8
Non-Christian	66
Total	281

Of these 281 pupils, 74 are boarding pupils and 207 day pupils. The total enrollment for 1935-36 was 320, of whom 218 were day pupils and 107 were boarders. The enrollment in September, 1936, was 375.

TABLE XXIII

St. Andrew's Priory for Girls

Hawaiian	9
Part-Hawaiian	112
Chinese	18
Japanese	18
Korean	7
Caucasian	24
Portuguese	13
All others	4
Total	205

Episcopal	71
Protestant	44
Roman Catholic	42
Mormon	27
Unbaptized	21
Total	205

For 1935-36 the enrollment was 260, of whom 201 were day pupils.

Relations with the Evangelical Missions and Churches

The consternation of the New England missionaries and the religious confusion of the Hawaiian people on the arrival of the Espiscopal Bishop with his ecclesiastical claims and gorgeous services can be more easily imagined than described. The coming to these simple, unsophisticated natives, after they had been largely Christianized by the non-liturgical New Englanders, first of the Roman Catholic Mission with its exclusive claims to be the only true Church of Jesus Christ, then of the Mormons with their claims to possess a new Revelation and to be the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, and now of the Church of England with its own distinctive claims to found a church in its completeness and with all the powers of Episcopal ordination, led by a bishop of extremely high church convictions and strong emphasis on liturgy and ceremonials, introduced into Hawaii deplorable discussions and discords. Happily, however, those days are now long past. The various types of theological ideas and convictions and religious experiences have been learning to live together in peace and mutual tolerance, each church proclaiming its own message freely and conscientiously, and all seeking to establish, more and more fully, the Kingdom of God on earth.

A striking illustration of this happier relationship was the invitation to the Reverend Toyohiko Kagawa, who may be described as the Apostle of evangelical Christianity in Japan, to preach in the Episcopal Cathedral during his recent visit to Honolulu (July 7, 1935). "The Cathedral was cram-jammed . . . . with every chair in our possession conscripted into use. . . . . It was a great message preached by a great man through the great power of the Holy Ghost."

Transference to the American Episcopal Church

Shortly after the annexation of the Islands to the United States, the missionary work of the Church of England was transferred (1902) to the American Episcopal Church, which has carried it on as a "Missionary District." In addition to St. Andrew's Cathedral parish, there is one other parish in Honolulu, St. Clement's, and one in Maui; throughout the Islands there are twenty six missions of various sizes and races. Two of the missions are for Koreans, three for Chinese, and two each for Japanese and Hawaiians. Religious work is also carried on at the Schofield Barracks and at Fort Shafter, for the American troops located in the Islands. There are, it may, however, be noted, a dozen regular Army and Navy Chaplains located with the troops in Hawaii.

The Episcopal Church has in Honolulu six day schools, including the two boarding and day schools, Iolani and the Priory, four kindergartens and an orphanage. It also has a hospital on Molokai, St. Mary's Church Institute. The Iolani College has the distinction of having had Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as one of its pupils for a number of years.

The thirty-third Annual Report (1935) supplies the following figures of the work. Connected with the three parishes and the 26 missions there were 6,191 baptized persons of whom 3,588 were reported as communicants (1934). The missionary staff consisted of 25 priests, 3 deacons, and 3 deaconesses. Contributions amounted to $52,101.47 and in addition $18,300 were granted for the Molokai hospital, St. Mary's Home, and the Seamen's Church Institute, by the

Honolulu Welfare Fund, the County of Maui and the Molokai Ranch. From the Department of Missions in New York City, grants were received for missionary work amounting to $51,589.27. The value of land and buildings is put at $1,000,000 and the Endowment Fund Investments at $143,200.

> The distinctive feature of the Church's Mission in the Hawaiian Islands is its interracial quality. Here, Orient and Occident meet in a manner duplicated nowhere else in the world. In a thoroughly western environment of 135,000 Occidentals, nearly a quarter of a million people of Oriental ancestry live, study, work, play. About half of these people are American by birth, who are developing steadily into English-speaking American citizens. To this civilian population which needs the Church's ministrations, must be added about 20,000 soldiers and sailors who serve their appointed time in fortresses and camps, and at Pearl Harbor Naval Base.
>
> These people of many races live together in remarkable harmony and good will . . . . While the majority of the older generation Orientals adhere to their ancestral religions, there are almost unlimited opportunities for Christian evangelism among the younger generation. They are American citizens. They are predisposed to be sympathetic toward all aspects of western life, including religion. In a large number of cases, however, these young people are abandoning their ancestral faiths with nothing to replace them. They are bewildered and perplexed. They need the vision of spiritual power which Christ and his Church alone can give.[10]

The value of the work carried on by the Episcopal Church in helping to build a homogeneous people in these Islands will be evident to those who consider the steady emphasis of the Episcopal service on the indoctrination of its members in the fundamentals of the Christian faith, in the practice of the type of piety it cultivates, and in the emphasis in both thought and practice on interracial equality.

Chapter X

Methodist, Salvation Army and Other Missionary Activities

The Methodist Episcopal Church

THE FIRST missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands was started in 1857. For lack of financial assistance, however, after three years it was suspended. Methodist work among the Japanese was started in 1886 by a Japanese pastor from Japan. Four years later Reverend A. N. Fisher came from California to superintend this work and to become pastor of the Anglo-Saxon church in Honolulu. Until 1904 this work was under the direction of the Pacific Coast Japan Mission. In 1905, however, the present organization was set up with Rev. John W. Wadman as Superintendent, succeeded in 1914 by Rev. William H. Fry, who is still carrying on vigorously .

By a wise arrangement in 1905 an agreement was entered into by the Methodist Board of Missions and the Hawaiian Board whereby the fields of the two Boards were so adjusted that not only was competition avoided but also the ground was more adequately covered. The Methodist Board took over all responsibility for work for Koreans. This was quite fitting since the Methodist Church had a large work in Korea whereas the Congregational American Board had not entered that field. The work for Japanese and Filipinos was divided by districts, each Board accepting responsibility for certain specified districts.

The personnel of the Methodist Mission (1935) consists of thirty ordained ministers, sixty local preachers and seven volunteer workers. Membership in the churches is 4,837 and in the Sunday Schools, 4,637. Thirty church buildings and fourteen parsonages constitute the plant, having an estimated valuation of $550,000, all free from debt. According to the 30th Annual Report (1935) the number of Filipino churches is eleven with 807 full resident members; of Japanese churches is twelve with 620 full resident members; and of the Korean churches, eleven with a full resident membership of 861. Each church also has a substantial list of "preparatory members." In harmony with the comity agreement of 1905 the Methodist Mission has not sought to work among the Hawaiian population. The total receipts reported for 1934 were $37,875 of which $16,000 came from the Board of Missions, the balance being raised locally. The largest single church is the Anglo-Saxon, the First Church of Honolulu, with a membership of 324.

> Like all other missionary workers in Hawaii, Mr. Fry is deeply impressed with the importance of the situation. The real challenge to organized Christianity, he writes, comes from the young people and children, so abundant all about us. The real problem is how to get an adequate equipment and program. The children of all races are sweet and wholesome in their impressionable years. The touch of childhood makes all hearts kin. The language of laughter and the language of tears is the same all over the world. If you know the merriness that God makes, you can find it right here in the childhood of mingling races . . . . In all our churches we are stressing the importance of the Sunday School and Epworth League. In the little village of Puukolii, Maui, every Japanese child is a member of our Sunday School. I was there upon a recent Sunday when the attendance was 210 . . . . Night schools are being conducted with studies in English for those beyond school age and those who must work during the day. Mother's clubs are organized where helpful instruction is given . . . .
>
> We have reason to thank God that there are no racial line fences in Hawaii which would make it impossible to come across to each other with our joys and our sorrows, our love and our music, our laughter and our tears, our defeats and our victories, our graves and our immortal hopes. Here we can say with Kipling:
>
> But there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face
> Though they come from the ends of the earth.
>
> Here we can sing with Isaac Watts;
>
> People and realms of every tongue
> Dwell on His love with sweetest song.
>
> Here we can say with Paul:
>
> Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and the household of God.

A highly valuable piece of social work is the Susannah Wesley Home for Girls. In the Home practically all the races and many of the "mixtures" are represented. A recent enumeration of the 92 girls in the Home gave the following list:

Japanese
Filipino
Hawaiian
Korean
Chinese
Puerto Rican
Portuguese
American
Russian-Filipino
Filipino-Puerto Rican
Portuguese-Hawaiian
Chinese-Hawaiian
American-Hawaiian
Korean-Hawaiian
Filipino-Hawaiian
Irish-Hawaiian
Portuguese-American
German-American
Belgian-Filipino
American-Filipino
Irish-Portuguese

The girls do all the house-work thus reducing the Home's expenses to the minimum. Their education they get in the public schools of the city. Each girl is expected to pay as much as her parents or guardians, if there are such, can give toward her support. During vacations the older girls go out as house-maids, nurse-maids or mother's helpers, thus earning something for clothes and school books. Started in 1899 the Home has rendered notable service to the hundreds of girls whom it has befriended, many of whom have proved to be highly gifted, having taken distinguished rank and many honors in scholarship, music and art. Not a few of the girls have gone to colleges and Universities on the mainland. The Home has turned out splendid specimens of womanhood. It has given to the City and the Islands, good home-makers, good Christians, good social and religious workers, many of whom came to the Home as orphans, foundlings, waifs, and prospective burdens to the City.

The Home is conducted in a broad Christian spirit, the children coming from families affiliated with various religions, or none, some even being Roman Catholic. The spirit of understanding and appreciation of each other is cultivated which completely ignores race-differences and prevents the rise of race-consciousness among the children.

The Salvation Army

The unique feature of the activities of the Salvation Army is that it "rehabilitates" those who are down and out, morally and spiritually as well as physically and economically. The other welfare and social agencies strive—and with great success—to build up the youth in the good life before they have developed practices and habits destructive to themselves and injurious to society. The Salvation Army, on the other hand, salvages those who have lapsed and brings them back to a self-controlled, happy and useful life.

The Army began its work in these Islands in 1894 and has achieved notable results. So effective has it been that generous friends have been rallied to its support. The United Welfare Fund contributes to its budget, as well as broad-minded individuals. It maintains a number of "rehabilitating" institutions—such as the self-supporting Men's

Social Service Center with its Departments for transient relief, penitentiary welfare work, industrial assistance, and hotel accommodations for working men; the Women's Home; the Girls' Home; and the Boys' Home. Each is provided with a substantial plant.

In addition to its institutional activities the Salvation Army carries on aggressive evangelism, maintaining (1937) 120 centers throughout the territory which conduct services on street corners and in plantation camps as well as in hired buildings. The evangelistic program goes on every night in the week, having a total attendance in 1936 of over 305,096 individuals. Converts in 1936 numbered 1,602 in the "Senior Work" and 2,691 in the "Young People's Work", a total of 4,295. The Army maintains a Home League composed of women who seek "to build up the moral and spiritual welfare of the family." Among other specific activities, such as summer camps for underprivileged children, prison welfare work, and Christmas Baskets for destitute families, it also maintains an Anti-Suicide Bureau and a Missing Friends Department. The total budget for all its varied activities during 1935 amounted to $208,058. Its "Officers" numbered 58 and included Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans and Americans.

The thrilling story of the Army's work for 1935 discloses the human tragedies that invade even this Paradise of the Pacific. Our special interest, however, is in the fact that the Army reaches all classes and races. It knows no color distinctions, has no race prejudices. Its staff includes vigorous, moral dynamos of every race whose helpful ministrations save men, women and children who are being swamped in the tumultuous moral and economic storms that rage in these Islands of the Pacific, as in every land.

The Salvation Army is rendering highly important service in the making of the coming homogeneous people in these Islands.

The Kalihi Union Church

The Kalihi Union Church, located in the heart of a teeming population of many races living on the outskirts of the City, is an important social service institution which maintains the religious emphasis as the acknowledged center and inspiration of its work. A score or more of races and race-mixtures—Hawaiians, Samoans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Norwegians, Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, "Other Caucasians" with sprinklings of others—constitute the clientele. The population of this section of the city is largely made up of day-laborers, small merchants and those of little or no regular sources of income—such as may be found in the poorer sections of any large city.

A score of years ago a far sighted Christian leader among the members of the Hawaiian Board bought a seven-acre tract of land in this area, at that time on the very outskirts of the city, correctly forecasting its probable growth and its religious and social needs. For fifteen years the work has been carried on under the sponsorship and support of the Hawaiian Board.

It has maintained for many years a flourishing kindergarten and also a large playground which have been of immense value to the children that swarm in this part of the city. The children who need them have had dental care and also free breakfasts and lunches. "Nutrition Classes" are held for mothers, many of whom are quite ignorant and untrained. Several boys' clubs and scout troops find rooms here for their headquarters. A small gymnasium is open for the older boys and girls. A small dispensary requires at times the services of two doctors and two trained nurses. A "baby clinic" is conducted for the benefit of young mothers. The director of the playground conducts a "bank" for encouraging the children's spirit of thrift. A doll-house is used to give the children ideas about proper housekeeping. Girls' and young women's clubs meet in the gymnasium for their varied special interests. During the long vacation a thriving Vacation Church School is carried on. All this is in addition to regular church and Sunday school services.

The multi-racial population of this neighborhood at the beginning was largely pagan with little comprehension of what a Christian church is or of the motives behind it; but the program has been carried on long enough now to have produced a real change in the entire community. "We used to require police protection", says a former pastor, "but this has not been necessary for a number of years."

The Kalihi Union Church has a membership of 150, with an enrollment in its Church School of 550 children. Three Christian Endeavor Societies have a total membership of 170 young people, while some 1500 different children and youth make weekly use of the church playground. Several distinguished persons have been members of the church. One was a former Queen of American Samoa, whose husband ceded the Manua Islands to the United States. After his death she married the leading pastor of the Samoan Church and actively aided him in his religious work. On the death of a daughter who had come to Honolulu, she came hither to care for her grandchildren, joined the Kalihi Church by letter, and for several years conducted services in Samoan for her fellow countrymen.

Another church member, H. B. Nalimu who lived to be 99 years old, was the last survivor of the Hawaiian Mission to Micronesia, sent out in 1852. Still another member is the son of a prominent Samoan chief, a close friend of Robert Louis Stevenson. Three other members are the daughter, granddaughter and great granddaughter of Rev. James Kekela, a Hawaiian missionary to Marquesas, who, for his daring feat in rescuing an American officer about to be eaten by cannibals, was honored with a watch and a personal letter by President Lincoln. These treasures are still cherished by the family. The great granddaughter is the church organist.

Who can measure the wide-spread benefits of this multiform service to the children and mothers of the many races who have come under the influence of this truly Christian institution, not only along health, social, moral and especially religious lines, which are its objectives, but also in the creation of a common mind and a common attitude toward life and toward the city and the government?

The Kalihi Union Church is one of the factors that has been rendering genuine help in the creation of the coming race.

The Church of the Crossroads

Significant of what is taking place in Hawaii is the Church of the Crossroads. Early in the twenties a group of young Oriental Christians felt the need of a new type of religious service. Born in Hawaii and educated in English, they found the racial churches of their parents not wholly satisfactory. The vocabulary used in sermons and worship was strange to a large proportion of the American-born Oriental youth. The churches were organized and run by the older people along lines which seemed to the young people less up to date than the American churches were using. They wished more opportunity for expression and participation. Moreover, they were associating across racial lines in the public schools, on the playground, and in other groups, like the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. The Christian ideal of a universal brotherhood appealed to them. The racial churches were finding it difficult to hold their young people.

Under the leadership of the Hawaiian Board, a conference of these young Orientals led to the formation of a "Young People's Service" which developed in the course of a few months into the Young People's Church. When formally organized (May 1923) it took the name of the "Church of the Crossroads." The new church was careful not to proselytize, not to draw members away from other churches, but rather to help hold to the Christian way of life and faith those youth who could not be held by the existing racial churches.

CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS, HONOLULU

During the ten years of its activities it has received into membership 351 persons, 222 of them on confession of faith and 57 "affiliate" members, for the "duration of their temporary stay in Honolulu." Its active membership April 1933, stood at 151, of whom 23 were "Juniors", 54 were "Seniors" and 74 were "Adults". Classified racially they were, Japanese, 90; Chinese, 39; Anglo-Saxon, 19; and others, 3. For several years this inter-racial church used the auditorium of the Mission Memorial Building. Land for a church building was acquired in 1930. It is located within a block of the University. The new chapel, administration building, and activities unit were occupied before the end of 1935. The arts and crafts shop is yet to be achieved.

Another illustration of the dissatisfaction of young Hawaiian-born Christians with the churches of their parents has recently occurred in one of the large self-supporting Chinese churches. After considerable tension had developed between the older members and the young folk, it was thought wise all around to organize the young people into an English-speaking church of their own. The membership of this new church at its start (1934) stood at 101.

The Church of the Crossroads is unquestionably a forerunner of the type of church that will ultimately prevail, when the Neo-Hawaiian-American race has come fully into its own. Racial churches will then not be needed nor will they be desirable.

The Honolulu Bible Training School

The H. B. T. S. as it is popularly called, is another of Hawaii's unique institutions, growing out of the racial situation and contributing its part to the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American. The school was organized by the Hawaiian Board (1905) to give more adequate knowledge of the Bible to young teachers in the Hawaiian Sunday Schools. Like all living institutions, it has grown and expanded its program. Today under able and inspiring leadership it is doing a notable work, not only for prospective Sunday school teachers but for scores of young people with or without church connection, who wish a more adequate knowledge of the Bible.

The school has a membership (1936-7) of 387 young people, 162 Freshmen, 88 sophomores, 70 Juniors, and 44 Seniors, with 23 "Advanced Students". Of these 387 young people, 116 are young men and 271 are young women. Of the 387 members, 205 are church members, representing 27 different churches—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Hawaiian, Mormon, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and Union. About 170 entered the school as non-church members, but many of them have joined some church during the school year. The race make-up of the student body is Chinese, 104; Japanese, 76; Koreans, 88; Filipinos, 27; Hawaiians, 9; Americans, 4; Portuguese, 7; Negroes, 2; Spanish, 1; and racial mixtures, 67, too many varieties to specify. Another classification reveals the fact that 119 are pupils in the McKinley High School, 41 in the Mid-Pacific Institute, 26 in Roosevelt High School, 24 in the University of Hawaii, 14 in the Business School, 47 in no school, 83 in other schools of secondary grade, and 33 in business.

The School Council consists of 27 elected members, 6 Chinese, 3 Japanese, 12 Koreans, 2 Caucasians and 4 of other races. Indicative of the broad spirit of Honolulu's public schools is the fact that the Principal of the H. B. T. S. is permitted to address the High Schools and the University, as well as other educational institutions, explaining the purpose of the H. B. T. S. and extending invitations to the young people generally. The curriculum is so laid out that during the four years' course the entire Bible is well covered.

Attendance and grades of oral and written work are carefully recorded and diplomas granted upon graduation. Recognition is also given for service in Sunday Schools after graduation, a Service certificate for three years, a Silver Seal for six years, and a Gold Seal for nine years, of teaching. The total number of Service Certificates thus far issued has been 214; of Silver Seals 81 and of Gold Seals 52. A few graduates have served in Sunday Schools twenty and some even twenty five years. Graduates who seek the Territorial Teacher Training Diplomas are given one full credit for the completion of each of the five courses, in New Testament, Old Testament, the Acts of the Apostles, the Principles of Teaching, and Materials and Methods.

The primary aim and value of the work of this Bible Training School is, of course, the provision for the churches of competent Sunday School teachers, and the giving to the young people of the various races, religions, and denominations, an adequate knowledge of the Christian faith from the Protestant point of view. But incidentally as a by-product the School is helping to create a common religious mind and moral attitudes and convictions and to beget among its multi-race members a spirit and a consciousness like that of primitive Christianity when race-barriers were broken down and cast aside and Christianity for the first time became in practice a universal religion.

Honolulu Week-Day Schools of Religion

Among Honolulu's important religious agencies are the Week-Day Schools of Religion carried on since 1925 by the Board of Religious

Education, established by the Honolulu Federation of Churches. Under the sanction of law, passed in 1929, the Territorial Department of Education allows those children whose parents request it in writing to be excused one hour a week to attend classes of religious education. These classes are held outside of the school buildings. For four weeks during vacations, since 1925, the classes are held three hours daily on week-days. The declared purpose of this instruction is to give the children "permanent religious values." School teachers and Principals heartily cooperate in this movement, for all realize how important it is for the true welfare of the children, and also for that of the community, that the children should receive systematic training in vital religion.

Not only do Protestants avail themselves of this opportunity allowed by the Department of Education, but also Roman Catholics. Four experienced, full-time teachers of religion and the Director are employed by the Board who with the assistance of 40 volunteer public school teachers, conduct each week 140 classes in 9 elementary and 2 high schools. Each employed teacher personally teaches an average of 600 different children each week. The classes conducted by the volunteer teachers are held in the school buildings, either during recess periods or before or after school-hours. The total number of children attending these classes during the year 1936-37 was 3,759.

"During the past ten years," says the report for 1934-35, "41,875 boys and girls have been enrolled in these classes for religious instruction. Fifty-four percent of these children come from homes where neither parent is a member of any religious organization, Catholic, Protestant or Buddhist, these classes being the only formal contact with any religious teaching or teachers." It is worthy of special note that the attendance of these children is arranged for only on the written request of the parents.

The success of these Week-Day Schools of Religion depends entirely on the skill of the teachers in interesting the children, for attendance is quite voluntary. The influence, however, upon the children is for that very reason deeper and more permanent. Better than any formal description of the work is the following illuminating letter written by a Chinese girl in the sixth grade:

> I did not start Bible Class until some of the children said, "Miss Rogers tells the best stories, come on, go to Bible Class." I was so tired of these coaxings that I started going to Bible Class in the fifth

> grade. My mother signed a card and after that I was very anxious to hear what Miss Rogers was going to say. Almost every time I went to Bible Class I got better acquainted with her.
>
> When school began in September, Miss Rogers had another class and to be sure I attended it. I can't quite remember what we had in the fifth grade class but anyway we had a swell time. We also gave a couple of plays. I was so well acquainted with Miss Rogers in the fifth grade that when Miss Rogers was not busy during recesses I dropped in to see her. During the sixth grade Bible Class we studied about the ancient times when Abraham and Solomon were living.
>
> We had a mimeographed sheet which was supposed to be a Hall of Fame and in that we wrote the names of famous persons and why they were famous. I had a good time doing that. Some of the children wrote and acted a play by themselves. It was called "Freely You Have Received, Freely Give." The characters were: Mother, Father, Boy, Girl, Friends, Nurse, Teacher, Artist, Musician, and Spirit of Love. It came out pretty well, but I (the musician) was very nervous. We also gave a Thanksgiving play out of doors. I was in the choir with eleven other children.
>
> I will never forget the time when I had to speak three times before the whole school. During 1933, when we had a summer school, we took up the subject about Christianity in Hawaii. We made some grass huts, too, but we studied more than we made things. This year is 100 times better. We had a lot of things to make, and it was very exciting. I hope we will have Bible Classes at Roosevelt.

The ideals which the teachers seek to carry out are summed up by one of them in the following words:

> 1. To give a wholesome attitude toward Religion by leading the children through happy religious experiences along with those of their schools and homes, and thus to help them see that religion adds meaning, beauty, and joy to life.
>
> 2. So to conduct religious classes that they will not only be profitable and enjoyed by the children, but respected and desired by the school principals and teachers. Almost without exception we have their cooperation . . . . Most of the schools now depend on our classes to prepare the special Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter school programs.
>
> 3. To work out curriculum material which will be in line with the curriculum used in the regular school work and in which the special background and experience of Honolulu children are borne in mind . . . . in order that religion might find its place as normal interpretation and integration of all life.

Here again, while the direct purpose of this movement is the moral and spiritual welfare of the children, it is the social by-product that is of special interest from the standpoint of our study. The report stresses the fact that it is far better to train the youth of the Territory in moral ideals and responsible life from childhood than to neglect them until they have started on lives of anti-social and even criminal activity and then to seek to reform them. The value to the community, therefore, is regarded as an important by-product of the movement. Yet the further by-product is not altogether over-looked, for the report also refers to the "welding together" of the idealism of the diverse racial groups that constitute the population of the Islands. By helping in the creation of a common mind in regard to normal duties and religious conceptions of the universe and especially of the "good life," these Week-Day Religious Schools are rendering a significant contribution to the making of the coming race.

Buddhism and Shintoism

The coming to the Hawaiian Islands of such large numbers of Japanese laborers naturally led to the coming also of Buddhist and Shinto priests. These priests, it should never be forgotten, met many real needs, such as writing letters for the tens of thousands of peasants who were quite illiterate, taking care of the multiplying children while the parents were at work in the cane-fields, teaching the children to speak, read and write their own language, promoting and supervising the traditional social, patriotic and religious festivals, thus providing greatly needed recreation during hours and days of relaxation from arduous toil, and ministering to the spiritual needs of the people in terms they could understand when sickness and death invaded their homes.

In due course small shrines began to appear here and there, and then larger and larger temples, and regular religious services began to be held. The different Buddhist and Shinto sects in time set up their respective ecclesistical organizations and organized their language schools—until today, Buddhists constitute the largest religious body in Hawaii.

Since the presence in Hawaii of such a different religion as Buddhism supported by so large a section of the population may seem to be a serious obstacle in the way of the wholesome development of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race, it seems desirable to defer to the next chapter the more extended statement of this situation.

The English Language as a Religious Factor

Strange as it may seem to one who has not considered the matter, the English language is a powerful factor in moulding the religious thought and life of a non-English-speaking people, especially of an Asiatic people, and in begetting among them a religiously unified mind and world-view. For the English language, through centuries of development among a people more thoroughly Christianized and more earnestly and intensely Protestant than any other population in the world (Great Britain and the United States) has become infused through and through with Christian ideas and ideals. Such words as God, man, woman, child, society, morality, religion, self-sacrifice, resurrection, immortality, duty, justice, righteousness, sin, family, husband, wife, purity, person, personality, and democracy, all carry meanings and connotations derived from Christianity and cannot be fully understood apart from some real knowledge, even though unconscious, of the Christian religion and of its Protestant form. All the great literature and inspiring poetry of the English-speaking peoples is suffused with Christian conceptions of the relations of God and Nature, of God and man, of society, social ideals and goals and obligations.

Asiatic peasants born in China or Japan who come to Hawaii as adults and pick up the English language more or less incidentally, are not likely to get much knowledge of Christianity merely by learning English. Though they may get English words and be able to put them together in broken sentences; but they put into them their own Asiatic meanings. That is why in conversation they are always "translating." They think in their native tongues and then try to put over their ideas into English—always more or less awkwardly. The same thing happens of course to Americans in Japan or China.

But the point I am seeking to make is that a child of Asiatic ancestry, educated from early years in an English-speaking school, unconsciously *absorbs* the English meanings, contents, implications and connotations of the words. His thinking processes are constructed on the English pattern—not on that of China or Japan. He "thinks English." When he talks he is not translating. This is no doubt a part of the reason why Asiatic youth of the second generation educated in Hawaii or California find it so difficult to understand their parents, whose mentality continues to be Asiatic even though they can talk some English. The American-educated youth quickly understands and appreciates the appeal of Christianity but cannot understand or respond in the same way to Buddhism. He has acquired the Christian ideas inherent in his English vocabulary. That vocabulary simply does not fit into the Buddhist pattern of thought about life or death, duty or immortality. He simply cannot understand the religion of his parents. His acquisition of English has made him an Occidental in his inner life and outward look on nature and society, on God and man.

A humorous illustration of this situation is reported by Dr. Albert W. Palmer in his illuminating volume, "Orientals in American Life." Discussing the tension between Oriental parents and their American-educated children, he quotes the following report of her experience by a Chinese girl:

"I was born here in Chinatown and attended the city schools and graduated from the High School and have had two years in the State College. When I was a little girl I grew to dislike the conventionality and rules of Chinese life. The superstitions and customs seemed ridiculous to me. My parents have wanted me to grow up a good Chinese girl, but I am an American and I can't accept all the old Chinese ways and ideas. A few years ago, when my mother took me to worship at the shrine of my ancestors and offer a plate of food, I decided it was time to stop this foolish custom. So I got up and slammed down the plate of rice in front of the idol and said, 'So long, old top, I don't believe in you anyway.' My mother didn't like it a little bit."

Writing about Buddhism in America Dr. Palmer also reports the following experience:

> The two most capable and intelligent Buddhist workers that I met on a recent tour of the Pacific Coast happened to have been brought up in Methodist Sunday Schools. One of them, a very alert, intelligent, modishly dressed young woman, after acting as guide through the Nichiren Buddhist temple—a severely American structure, set, however, in a truly beautiful Japanese garden which is a standing rebuke to ninety-five percent of the churchyards in America—said: "You know, I just can't understand Buddhism at all and I don't know what I believe, but I come here because it pleases my parents. The priest wanted me to take the Sunday School but I don't know what to do with it. I just give the children the things I was taught in the Methodist Sunday School and add the stories about St. Nichiren who was a very good man and founded our sect of Buddhism." She was obviously more American, than Japanese and Buddhist.

The culture which the schools in Hawaii make every effort to impart is saturated with American ideas, ideals, and moral values. Even though no formal instruction is given regarding the Christian religion, nevertheless its basal conceptions are embedded in the literature studied. Even America's political system, its democracy, and Declaration of Independence, announcing the inherent right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, rests on Christian postulates. An anonymous Bhikshu (Reverend) discussing in the Hawaiian Buddhist Annual[1] the "Four Supreme Efforts," makes the following significant statement:

> Due to the fact that our young Buddhists are educated in schools where they come under Christian influence, they introduce Christian terms into Buddhism making of the doctrine much misinterpretation. Four years ago when I left to pay a visit to Europe, one young Buddhist, a very earnest young man, wished me good health and a safe voyage, "by the Grace of Buddha." This is sheer Christianity.

Just so. No child in any school using the English language and studying English literature can escape the moulding influence of Christian conceptions. The English language carries with it the monotheistic world-view as against the Oriental Pantheistic world-view. It predisposes those who are reared from childhood in the use of English toward distinctively Christian attitudes. It emphasizes individuality and personality and the value of human life as against impersonality, the insignificance of man, and the valuelessness of human life. It stresses unconsciously, yet the more effectively for this very reason, the reality of the objective universe and the validity of our scientific knowledge, as against the Oriental doctrines of illusion, transitoriness and valuelessness of all the events of time and sense. It tends, moreover, to develop a spirit of optimism, of courageous activity, as against the Buddhistic teachings of pessimism, defeatism and fatalism.

Thus the whole trend of the mental development of a child educated in English is quite different from that of a child whose language and psychological outfit is that of the Orient from which the parents came. The English language is thus a factor of great importance in giving to the rising generation of the various races born in Hawaii a fundamentally Christian conception of the universe and a predisposition to accept Christianity as one's personal religion.

Appendix to Chapter X

Buddhism in Present-Day Japan

The Buddhism described in the text is, of course, the historic Buddhism of Asia. To prevent misunderstanding it should be added that Japanese Buddhism has been undergoing a transformation during the past two score years which can be described only as "tremendous." A correspondent in Japan speaking of these changes says: "By and large, Japanese Buddhism is no longer trying to escape from the world. It has taken the cue from Christianity and is now endeavoring to build a better world. In the larger cities all the Buddhist sects have launched all kinds of social welfare projects and even in the towns and in some of the villages, Buddhist temples have started day-nurseries and village improvement activities. Moreover, modern Buddhists are no longer mystics, nor subject to introspection and metaphysical speculation in any such degree as Buddhists were, say twenty years ago. Moreover, I doubt whether it can be said that modern Buddhism is pessimistic. Before the transformation, of which I have just spoken, this was undoubtedly true but here again Christianity has given Buddhism not only a new world outlook but a new cosmic outlook which has lifted it out of its dark view of things.

"The Christian impact on Japanese Buddhism has given it a more or less personal God. Mr. Tomomatsu, one of the outstanding Buddhist leaders in Japan today, recently gave a series of radio talks which made a tremendous impression. These talks were afterward published in book-form and it became the best seller of the year. Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold. His ideas and vocabulary were so near-Christian that you would not have known that he was a Buddhist priest; you would have thought that it was a Christian pastor speaking. Of course, not all Buddhist priests by any means have taken such advanced grounds as he does but he represents a large area of Buddhist thinking today . . . . When it comes to the question of personality, here too, a great change has taken place. As a result of Christian ideas and ideals, personality looms much larger than it used to in the thinking of modern Buddhists, and the value of the individual receives not a little emphasis."

The explanation suggested by my correspondent that these "tremendous changes" are due to the impact of Christianity is undoubtedly correct. This impact has been made not only by Christian missions but by Occidental culture as a whole, notwithstanding its materialism and irreligion. Not the least factor in this impact has been the English language, which, since the 70's of the last century has been the "second language" taught in all Japan's schools for secondary and higher education. The influence on Japan's national mentality of the universal study of English by Japanese intelligentsia can hardly be over-estimated. It has resulted in extraordinary transformations in the Japanese language itself, in its vocabulary and even in its grammatical structure, rendering it much more easily learned by Occidentals than was the case half a century ago.

The characterizations of Buddhism referred to in the text, therefore, deal with the Buddhism which formed the mentality and character of the Japanese peasants who came to the Islands a generation ago, not the Buddhism of present-day Japan.

Chapter XI

Other Factors

Some Needed Qualifications

THE FOREGOING pages give, no doubt, too rosy and optimistic a picture. The present relatively happy situation in the relations of the races has not come just naturally or by chance. There have been times when black clouds of suspicion and ill-will, especially between Japanese and Caucasians, hung heavy on the horizon. Nor can it be maintained even now, when all looks so fair and promising, that misunderstandings and suspicions have entirely disappeared, and that the races feel toward and treat each other as full equals—as brother-members of the same race.

Some race discrimination and some race prejudice unquestionably exist, though just how much may be difficult to say, for the answer will doubtless vary according to the temperament and view-point of the observer. Such as there is, however, is commonly not harsh nor rigid. "While racial equality is not absolute," says Professor Adams, "Hawaii makes an uncommonly close approach to it. The masses of the non-haole (non-white) people feel that there is some, and sometimes an individual is pretty sore about it." A certain amount of racial conflict, moreover, has existed in the past and it is not impossible that it may deevlop again. But the significant point is that "Hawaii commonly solves its conflicting problems before they become extremely serious. Accommodations are reached which are workable, and if not quite up to the wishes or ideals of some people, they serve practically. . . . It is a system of race relations that makes it possible to solve the conflict-problem rather than the absence of the problems, that is to be emphasized."

For a realistic picture, then, some account must be given of the various factors which interfere or are supposed to interfere with the complete psychological unification of the races.

Race-Affinity

First of all, and probably of least importance, is the natural affinity of members of the same race, the feeling that they understand each other and find it easier to fraternize in a social way with one another than with members of another race. "Birds of a feather flock together" spontaneously. It is not merely that Whites more easily associate with Whites, but that Americans more easily associate with Americans, English with English, Portuguese with Portuguese, Chinese with Chinese, and so on down the whole line. There are more points of contact as a rule between members of the same race. This may be accompanied by and may be due to race-prejudice. But it is not necessarily so. In the social gatherings of many races for dancing at the Palama Settlement, for instance, while there are mixed couples, the majority of the couples are members of the same race.

The same is true also in regard to marriage. The vast majority of the individuals of pure races marry within their own race. It is more natural for the sexes to become acquainted within their own racial circles. They naturally feel more at ease with one another. Parents, moreover, much prefer to have sons- or daughters-in-law whom they can understand and talk with freely in their own language. All this may be true without the least race-prejudice.

This fact of natural affinity between members of the same race is thus one of the factors tending to retard the rapid rise of the biologically unified Neo-Hawaiian-American race. Race affinity operates more among adults—especially the foreign-born adults—than among the youth born and educated in Hawaii under the wholesome circumstances described in the foregoing pages. Children, apparently, have little or none of the sense of racial affinity. They find playmates across race lines without the least difficulty. Oftentimes, indeed, the race difference is a source of interest and attraction. This it is that makes the program of the schools of Hawaii so easy and effective in creating out of the children of so many races a psychologically homogeneous body of enthusiastic Americans, who have practically no consciousness of race as a divisive factor.

Race affinity may easily be mistaken for race prejudice but it is not. The distinction is important.

Japanese Language Schools

The most serious obstacle to the rise of a psychologically homogeneous people in Hawaii is, according to the convictions of many, the Japanese language school. Many, both Americans and Japanese, regard these schools with anxiety. Critics of the schools assert, and supporters deny, that the schools promote Japanese nationalism and disloyalty to the United States among Hawaiian-born youth who are American citizens. Efforts were made by the Territorial Government some years ago to bring the schools under the control of the Department of Education. The special laws adopted for the purpose, however, were resisted in the courts and were finally pronounced unconstitutional.

Into the pros and cons of this highly controversial question it is not practicable for us to enter, for an adequate statement would require a substantial monograph, while a brief inadequate statement would do more harm than good.

The issue is still a live one and will probably remain so for some years to come. As time goes by, however, these schools, many believe, will steadily diminish. For it is not likely, as they are pointing out, that second and third generation Japanese will provide the funds requisite for an expensive system of Japanese schools, especially if the Japanese language is included in the curriculum of the public schools. This proposal is being urged by the "Japanese Language Education Association", organized by Professor K. C. Kondo, the Okumuras, father and son, and others, as a part of their New-Americans movement, described in Chapter VI. With the approval of the department of education and the cooperation of school principals, the Association maintains Japanese language classes in ten public schools, after school hours, with 29 employed teachers and nearly 1,000 pupils. Opponents have nicknamed these schools "Chain Schools". Supporters, however, are well pleased with the name and are using it themselves. They are hoping that before long the public school system will make the Japanese language a voluntary course of the regular curriculum.

After having studied the language school problem with some attention, the writer feels that one is hardly competent to know all the pertinent facts for and against the schools and to judge them fairly who is not familiar with the Japanese language. For the purposes of this book, however, it is sufficient for us to recognize that Japanese Language Schools do constitute more or less of a hindrance to the wholesome development of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race. And yet the hindrance is probably not as serious as some fear nor as much of a menace to the Islands as some argue.

Whether the schools will naturally pass away as the second and especially the third generation take the place of their ancestors, or whether they are destined to maintain their number and influence, is an open question. Rev. Paul J. Tajima who, in his "Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii", has given the question more detailed and intensive study than perhaps anyone else, makes out a strong case for the latter view. But in either case many wholesome influences are at work—such as the public schools, attendance on which is compulsory, and a variety of social, welfare and religious agencies, all of which are effectively moulding the thought and life of the entire rising generation, which understands and speaks and reads the English language better than it does the Japanese language. The cultural and moral advantages of the language schools are real and important while the divisive tendencies are probably less than the critics think. Perhaps the chief objection to the schools is the unfortunate misunderstandings and suspicions created in the minds of Americans on the mainland in regard to the loyalty to the United States of Hawaiian-born Japanese youth.

On the other hand, few Americans appreciate the considerations that control the supporters of the Language Schools. The most important of these is their conviction that the Territorial schools, while developing the intellect and the general knowledge of their pupils, fail to beget in them the moral qualities of "*koko*" (filial piety and reverence for ancestors), "*giri*" (the sense of righteousness, duty and devotion to that which is just and reasonable), "*ninjo*" (compassion and sympathy for those who suffer injustice) and "*reigi*" (proper conduct, courtesy and etiquette). These moral qualities are regarded by Japanese as essentials of character and good breeding and therefore of vital importance for the children themselves and also for their relations to others, and for the community as a whole. Until the public schools devote themselves more definitely to the development of these moral qualities, the Japanese community will no doubt feel it necessary to maintain their schools for training their children along these lines.

In October, 1935, a Congressional Committee visited the Islands to investigate the proposal for granting Statehood to Hawaii. The hearings in Honolulu and five other cities fill over 700 pages. Among the topics on which testimony was taken was that of the influence of the Japanese Language Schools on the loyalty of the children to the Stars and Stripes. Among the witnesses was Hon. Oren E. Long, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

After describing with some detail the public school system and its social, cultural and patriotic objectives, Mr. Long discussed the problem raised by the Japanese Language Schools. He stated that "many local leaders who are in a position to be informed are convinced that the language schools do not play an important part in determining the attitude of the children who attend them."[1] In support of this position he submitted statements by eight outstanding educators of wide experience on the mainland as well as in Hawaii, among them, a former President of the University of Hawaii, the Supervising Principal of the Honolulu Schools, the Supervising Principal of the Rural Schools of Oahu, the Principal of the McKinley High School, and the Director of Vocational Education.

While their utterances which cover many pages are varied in form, the unanimity of their judgment is impressive. In the words of one of them these schools "are not sponsored nor controlled by the Japanese Government". "Their purpose is not to inculcate loyalty to Japan but is cultural and social." The chief motives of the parents are "that their children shall learn to read, write, and speak good Japanese, ... be instructed in good manners, gain some appreciation of Japanese culture, ... and be kept occupied and out of possible mischief outside of regular school hours". The conviction is also expressed that "the loyalty of the children to the United States is not seriously affected" and that "education in the public schools is not interfered with". [2].

Notwithstanding this situation there are American leaders who feel that the sooner the language schools are abolished the sooner will Statehood be granted to the Islands. Former Governor Lawrence M. Judd, for instance, has recently (July, 1936) again urged the Conference of New Americans to eliminate the schools as rapidly as possible. "Their existence only stands in the way of your recognition as good American citizens; and the sooner you act the sooner will you benefit."

According to the Biennial Report of the Department of Public Instruction (December 31, 1936) there were 199 Oriental Language Schools in the Territory, the teachers numbering 799, of whom 496 were aliens and 288 were American citizens. The total number of pupils in these schools numbered 44,789, of whom only 249 were foreign-born. Racially classified there were 41,173 Japanese, 3,044 Chinese, and 572 Koreans. The following table was compiled by Mr. U. Okumura from figures provided by the Japanese Consulate (1935).

TABLE XXIV

Japanese Language Schools

Connections	*Schools*	*Teachers*	*Pupils*
Independent	129	425	27,443
Buddhist	45	252	13,447
"Chain School" Classes	10	28	864
Christian	2	10	386
Totals	186	715	42,140

Independent Schools are schools not directly affiliated with any religious body. Some of these schools, however, are independent only in name, being in fact under Buddhist control.

Looking toward the future it now seems probable that these language schools will persist for some time. Their cultural value, it is true, is less than their supporters had hoped. The time in school is too short and the influence of the general outside atmosphere is too strong. But there are strong economic considerations for the continuation of the schools. Japanese youth are discovering that few white-collar jobs are available among the Whites. Such jobs must be found chiefly among business enterprises controlled by Japanese, who are mostly of the first generation. They want clerks, stenographers, etc., who are bi-lingual. While they themselves think and talk in Japanese, their employees must deal with the purchasing public, an increasing proportion of which speaks English. Japanese youth need therefore, a fair mastery of both languages. Many customers, moreover, are of the first generation, especially those who possess considerable purchasing power. Employers, accordingly, want clerks who can understand and deal with them.

Then there are the "vested" economic interests of the 700 teachers. Also the "vested" interests of those who supply the schools with books, and other school apparatus and services. These vested interests naturally desire the continuance and even the increase of the schools. Such are the more important considerations for holding that the language schools are likely to continue for some years to retain their present status. Should the "Chain Schools" prove adequate and especially if they should be supported financially by the public school system, they will in all probability in the course of time largely displace the language schools.

Buddhism

To say that even Buddhism is making a helpful contribution toward the development of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race may seem strange, even preposterous. A candid examination of the facts, however, seems to support such a conclusion. While it would, of course, be absurd to maintain that there is nothing in Buddhist propaganda that tends to obstruct the development of a homogeneous people, especially in the activities of the relatively jingoistic, superstitious and fanatical sects, yet the emphasis of broad-minded leaders on the ethical elements of Buddhism as against its abstruse metaphysics has led the writer to feel that the obstruction has less weight than is usually thought and also that the helpful elements are more effective than might be supposed. Indeed, Buddhism as taught in Hawaii, appears to be itself in process of transformation. It is adapting itself to its Occidental environment—one may almost say that it is becoming Christianized! * Or, as the Venerable Bhikshu Ernest H. Hunt suggests, "modernized." And should it not also be said that Christianity itself is becoming "modernized", stressing its dogmas less and its ethical teachings more, than was the case two or three generations ago? This modernizing movement in both these universal religions naturally brings them nearer to each other and renders them mutually more intelligible.

The following statistics have been especially provided for this book by Mr. Umetaro Okumura and are based on statistics compiled by the Japanese Consulate.

TABLE XXV

Buddhism in Hawaii

Sects	*Temples*	*Priests*	*Members*
Nishi Hongwanji	37	57	14,464
Higashi Hongwanji	8	10	3,700
Jodo	16	25	7,930
Soto	10	16	3,470
Shingon	26	32	8,115
Nichiren	3	4	800
Hokekyo	1	6	......
Six Other Sects	6	8	1,240+
Totals	107	158	39,719+

Each Buddhist sect has Sunday Schools and also women's and men's organizations. The Nishi Hongwanji, for instance, reports 97 Sunday

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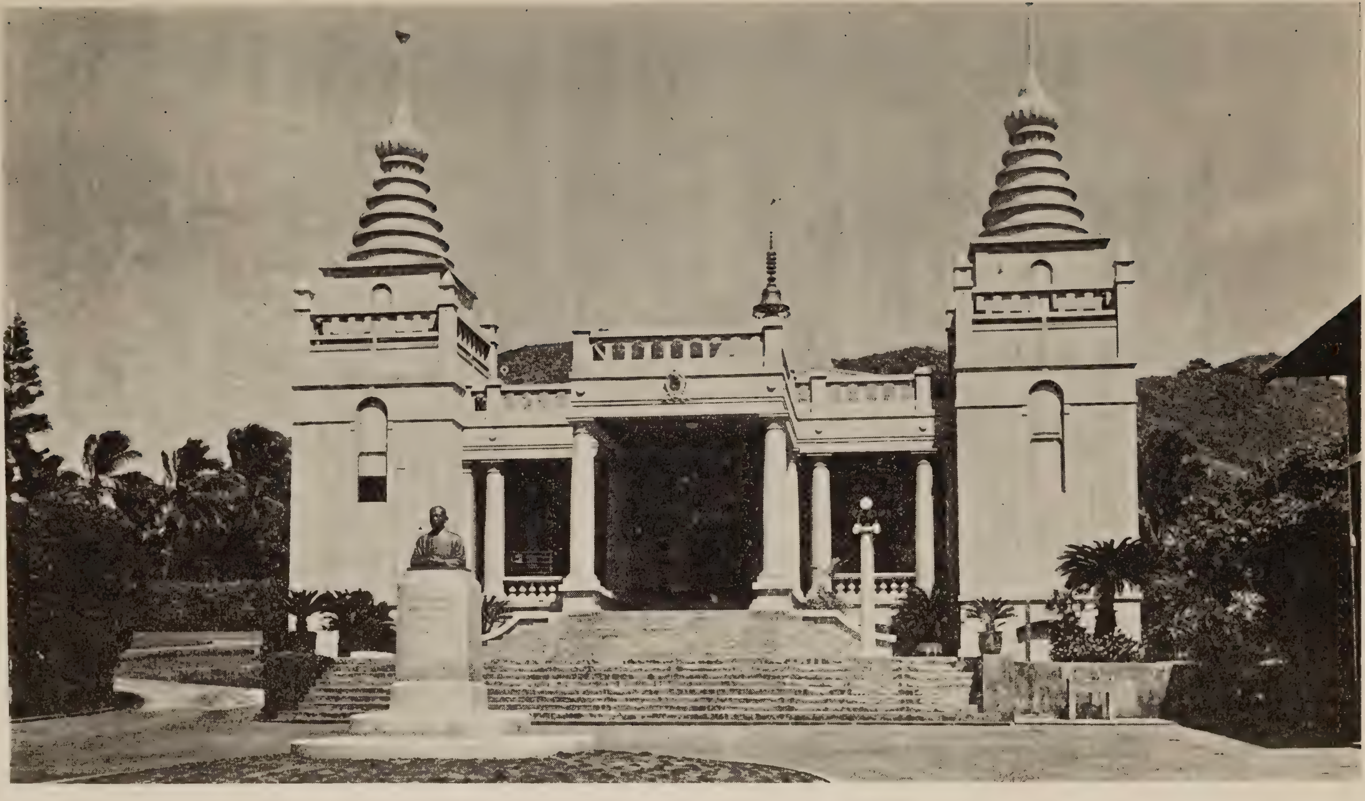
* This raises the question regarding the essentials of Christianity and Buddhism. For a statement on this point see the Appendix to this chapter.

Schools with 354 teachers and 13,260 pupils. It also reports 33 "Sustaining Bodies" with 7,659 members, and "Women's Organizations" whose membership is given at 5,452.

The "Vade Mecum" is a booklet in English, for use in Buddhist services. It provides in 107 pages the order of services or rituals for use on different occasions, and several responsive readings. Its general plan resembles the book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. "The Five Precepts" or pledges of the believer are repeatedly given ("I take my Refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, in the Brotherhood"). One of the responsive readings reminds one of the Beatitudes ("Happy they that reject evil for they shall attain purity", etc.) "The Noble Eight-fold Path" is stated and briefly expounded (Right Understanding, Right Purpose, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Thought and Right Meditation). Places in the order of service are provided for readings from the Buddhist Scriptures, for the singing of the hymns of which there are 114 in the Appendix, and for the "Buddhist equivalent of prayer"—"the sending out of thoughts of infinite love and compassion" for all men and all forms of life. A "Ceremony for the Young", a ceremony for the initiation of lay members, one for inauguration of Y. M. B. A. officers, a marriage ceremony, one for the ordination of Bhikshus (priests), one for the consolation of the sick, another for the dying, one for the conduct of funerals and a ceremony for a Memorial Day service. Eight sets of responsive readings from the Dhammapada, reminding one of responsive readings from the Psalms, strongly stress the ethical element. Many of the sentence quotations remarkably resemble passages from the Christian Scriptures—for instance, "For hatred is not overcome by hatred, hatred is overcome by love. This is an old rule." "Speak the truth; do not yield to anger; give if thou art asked; by these three steps thou wilt become divine." Some of the hymns are reminiscent of Christian hymns, such as "We Are Truth's Disciples, Marching As To Peace."

The impression made upon the writer by this "Vade Mecum", together with the discussions and descriptions of Buddhism in the "Hawaiian Buddhist Annual" (1934) and in the "Dobo" (Brotherhood), a bi-monthly published by the Y. M. B. A., is that Buddhism in Hawaii, at least so far as it is presented in English, is so strongly stressing the ethical teachings of the Buddha and is putting such slight emphasis on the abstruse metaphysical elements of historic Buddhism



BUDDHIST TEMPLE (Hongwanji)

that it is, in important respects, becoming Christianized. The very language (English) which it uses in teaching its doctrines, as noted in a previous section, is saturated with Christian conceptions and inevitably conveys Christian ideas and ideals, even when used to teach a non-Christian religion. To say for instance that when the Buddha told the five ascetics in the Deer Park at Benares in his first sermon after his illumination that he was going "to set in motion the Wheel of the Law" and that this was equivalent to an announcement of "the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness", is to put a Christian conception at the very base of Buddhism in place of the abstract metaphysical theorizing about the doctrines of Karma (Causation), the importance and non-reality of all things and the essential "non existence" even of the ego. The teachings of Jesus were entirely free from metaphysical speculation while Sakyamuni, the Buddha, made metaphysics the very foundation of his system of salvation. When philosophically minded Greeks became Christians they developed a system of theology and of Christology which incorporated considerable metaphysical speculation. Modern Christian thinkers, however, conscious of Christianity's historical development, have learned to distinguish between the simple, original teachings of Jesus and the philosophical additions of later centuries. In so far as Americanized Buddhism drops the emphasis on metaphysics and makes ethics central and essential, it is in a real sense becoming Christian.

A Japanese priest, after describing how, when Buddhism came to China, it changed to fit itself to the nature of the Chinese, and then when it came to Japan changed again to fit the nature of the Japanese, argues that "Americans should establish a new American Buddhism, in harmony with the history of the founding of the United States and in accord with the growth of its national spirit, and with its climate and customs. The new Buddhism in America should align itself with the national principles of the United States and yet be ever solitious of the welfare of the public in general."[3]

In view of the well-known Buddhist custom that has continued for not less than two milleniums, of adopting every good idea whencesoever it might come, so that Buddhism today is the most composite of all syncretic religions, it is not foreign to its age-old characteristics to soft-pedal in Christian America what is not readily accepted and to stress those elements that are acceptable. This is true even in Japan today, as has already been noted. Present-day Buddhism, through the impact of world-culture and the Christian religion is a very different religion from that commonly held and taught in Japan a century or even fifty years ago. It is becoming remarkably Christianized.[4] This process is proceeding apace in Hawaii and will go forward with accelerating speed as the children of Buddhist parentage, educated in Hawaii's English-using schools, absorb the characteristic American spirit of aversion to things speculative and metaphysical and are dominated by ideas and objectives that are "practical". Applied to religion this means ignoring the abstruse metaphysics of India and acceptance of the simple, unreflective and largely unconscious metaphysics of the West.

To claim as one American Buddhist does that Buddhism "offers no elaborate theories", "is simple and easily understood", and that "its teachings offer no obstacle that must be surmounted by closing the eyes and leaping in the dark", may be true of the Buddhism now being taught in Hawaii but certainly is not true of the historic, standard Buddhism of Asia.

The Hawaiian Buddhist Annual is dedicated "To All those who in this and All other Worlds are striving to bring about the Reign of the Kingdom of Righteousness". Is not this fundamentally Christian? However, that may be, in this spirit and striving Christians and Buddhists can surely unite. An American Christian pastor, speaking at the Hongwanji Temple at a service in commemoration of the birth of the Buddha, remarked that "Buddhism is a religion that is working for the spiritual happiness of mankind through enlightenment. . . . . (This) applies with equal correctness to Christianity. Both faiths are bringing to mankind the message . . . . that joy and peace cannot come through the medium of material goods but rather through the cultivation of the life of the spirit. It is important to recognize the essential unity between our two great faiths in the purpose for which they strive."

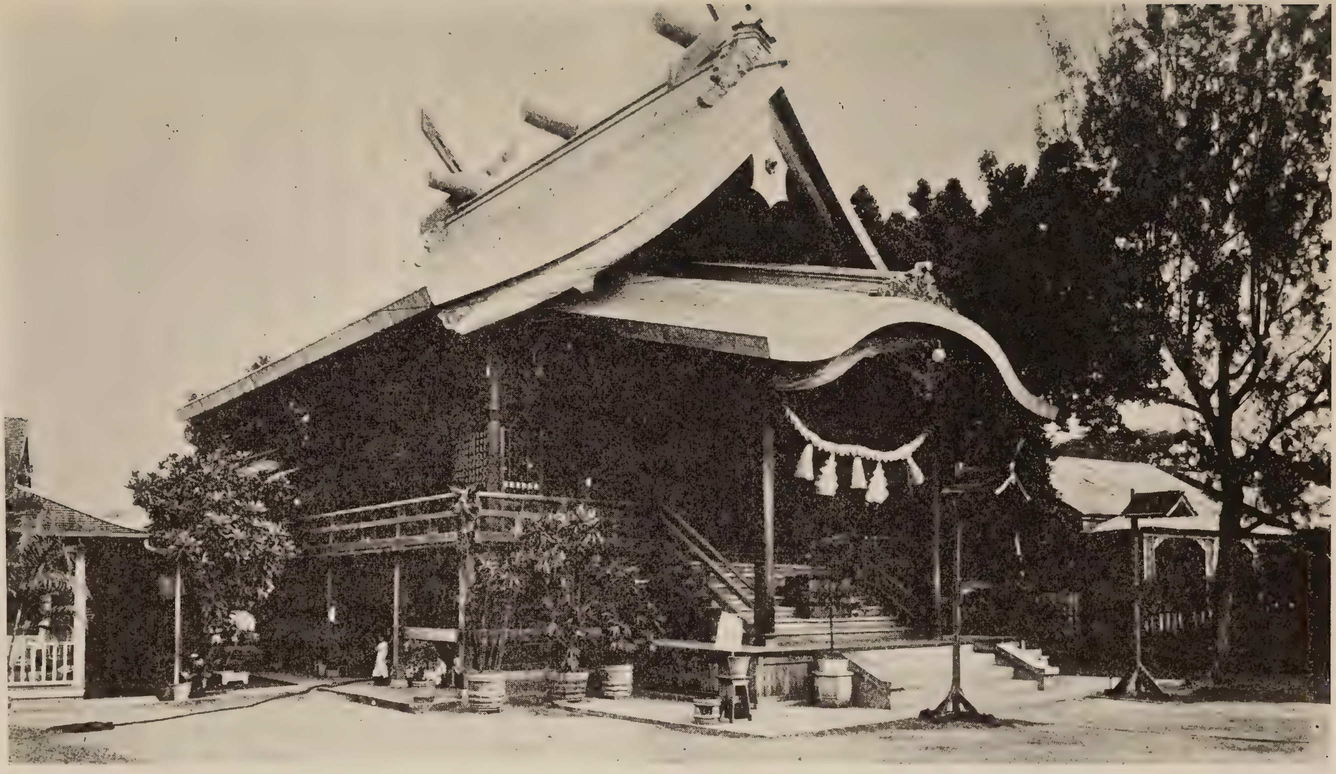
If the writer has correctly interpreted the trend of Buddhist development in Hawaii, this religion is rendering a valuable service to the multitudes of the rising generation who would otherwise not come under any direct religious influence. It is rendering this service by stressing ethical living—purity, kindliness, gentleness, truthfulness, right purpose, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right endeavor, right thought, and right meditation. The word "right" so frequently repeated, is inevitably interpreted by young Buddhists from the Christian point of view rather than the Buddhist, according to which "right" meant suited to the attainment of Nirvana. The pledges to renounce all unholy desires, to follow the Laws of Righteousness and to seek understanding and illumination are all to the good in guiding a population of many races, colors, traditions and customs to live together in amity and brotherliness. All this makes for favorable conditions for the rise of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Shintoism

This is the original, nature-religion of Japan. It is characterized by animism, polytheism and ancestor-worship, and finds expression in Sun worship, in harvest and other popular festivals, in miraculous healings, in marriage ceremonials, etc., but quite remarkably is wholly free from idols and idolatry. When Buddhism entered Japan it was rendered acceptable to the people by the doctrine that the deities worshipped in Japan were in fact manifestations of the various mythological and historical Buddhas and Boddhisatvas. Buddhism was a wonderful stimulant to Japanese thought and culture, and flowered out in art, sculpture and architecture.

For over a thousand years the two religions lived harmoniously side by side, Shinto tinctured by Buddhism being the religion of the common people and Buddhism tinctured by Shinto the religion of the intellectuals and spiritual devotees. Shinto especially inculcated patriotism, Confucianism stressed social morality and the principles of orderly government, while Buddhism provided the nation with speculative metaphysics and doctrines about the future life. Both Shinto and Confucianism emphasized filial piety and reverence for ancestors. All Japanese, broadly speaking, for many centuries have been, at one and the same time, Shintoists, Confucianists and Buddhists, each giving preeminence to one or the other of the three ancient systems of religion and world-view.

Japanese in Hawaii are like their kinsmen in Japan. Each family is connected with some Shinto shrine or Buddhist temple, which provides the ceremonies for the religious life (marriages, funerals, etc.), while all are profoundly moulded in their ideals of social morality by the Confucian teachings of the "five relations". Both Buddhism and Shintoism have various sects; several varieties of each are found in Hawaii. It is no part of our purpose to describe these in detail. This has been well done in "Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii", by Mr. Tajima, already referred to.



SHINTO SHRINE

According to the figures secured for me by Mr. Okumura based on statistics in the Japanese Consulate, there are ten Shinto Sects in Hawaii having 18 shrines administered by 26 priests and 11 assistants. The total membership amounts to approximately 20,000, which includes the entire membership of the families, children as well as adults. Many of these may also be attached to one or an other of the Buddhist temples. Shintoism in Hawaii, like Buddhism, is adapting itself, though less rapidly, to the new environment. Both are sloughing off their more superstitious elements and are increasingly stressing their ethical teachings and their social values. In proportion to their success in holding the Japanese population within the circle of their old beliefs and customs, festivals and general emotional life, they are without doubt hindrances to the unification of the population of Hawaii. Yet it must be admitted that these religions furnish certain important satisfactions to the minds and hearts of the major part of the Japanese population which satisfactions they do not find in the religions and customs of their Hawaiian environment.

Sectarianism

Of sectarianism—the holier-than-thou spirit—that cultivates the superiority complex of small groups of professedly religious folk and separates them by high walls of alleged orthodoxy, nothing good can be said. It is a pitiful psychological disease found in all religions yet inimical to all true religion whether Shintoist, Buddhist, or Christian. It separates people into social cliques, each clique more or less ignorant of the other—usually more—and is the prolific mother of misunderstandings and prejudices, so injurious to noble living.

How much of a disruptive force sectarianism really is in Hawaii, the writer is not prepared to say. Doubtless there is some of it. But probably much less than in many communities. Modern Protestant churches in the United States have largely overcome the sectarian spirit that was so rife and so disastrous a century ago. The missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, however, were quite free from it. They established a religious life among Hawaiians free from the sectarian blight. This is no doubt one of the reasons why Mormons and Roman Catholics have been so successful in winning Hawaiians to membership.

The public school, the University, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A's., the Palama Settlement, the Boy and Girl Scouts, all social welfare institutions and activities, the business groups and associations and the political life of the Territory, are all important factors working, quite unconsciously, against the sectarian spirit. That sectarianism has any real influence in delaying the coming of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race does not seem probable.

Race-Prejudice

That race-prejudice is an obstacle to the development of a homogeneous people out of one so heterogeneous as is the population of Hawaii needs no argument. It is, however, the unanimous judgment of all observers that race-prejudice in these Islands is at a minimum. Some go so far as to say there is none. The editor, for instance of the Binnacle, the organ of the "Floating University" which visited Honolulu in 1926, in order to prepare the students for their visit in the Islands, wrote the following editorial in the issue for October 17, 1926.

> Those who are studying the racial question will find in the Japanese situation in Hawaii an absorbing angle. The fact that all children of Japanese families become citizens at the age of 21 years makes the future control by the Japanese citizens practically certain . . . . If by any chance Hawaii becomes a member of the Union, the Governor of the 49th State will be a Japanese. A week later, after the visit to Honolulu was over, The Binnacle carried a correction. "I discovered," wrote the editor, "that I was misinformed. There is no racial question in Hawaii. The fear that the Japanese might secure economic and political control of Hawaii is utterly without foundation."

Dr. Palmer declares in his illuminating volume that "Nowhere else on earth is so remarkable a combination of races living together with so much goodwill and mutual understanding as in Hawaii. . . . . Of course there are tensions and frictions and dangers— these are everywhere—but in Hawaii certain techniques of racial adjustments have certainly been better developed than elsewhere."

The writer has inquired dilligently for evidences of race-prejudice. Perhaps the most pronounced instance given was the refusal of a certain golf club to admit Orientals to membership when the question was definitely raised. There appear to be a number of exclusive clubs—in practice if not in theory. "Although up to high school age", remarked one of my Oriental acquaintances, "the youngsters hobnob like brothers and sisters, the situation seems to change thereafter. They become race-conscious and do not mingle as freely as in school days. I have heard many Orientals say: 'My best friend in school (Caucasian) forgot to invite me to his wedding (or some other function) although I did not forget to invite him when I was married.' "

The statement of a group of high school girls regarding their experience is also illuminating. They were at an afternoon tea in the home of an American lady of broad interests and remarked that that was the first time any of them had seen the inside of a cultured White home. For the first time in their experience they were being treated as social equals by a cultured White. One of the girls was a professional "Hula Dancer". She explained that only one type of hula dances was obscene—the Haole hula (the White man's hula) because called for by the Whites. She then danced for the group a beautiful, idealistic symbolic hula.

The writer was also told on more than one occasion that in high school, college and university the races associate on terms of complete equality but that after graduation social relations between Caucasians and non-Caucasians cease. The reason given was that social relations might lead to interracial marriage which is frowned on by the "upper 400". He was also told that non-Caucasians resent the social exclusiveness of the White "aristocracy". In regard to these instances the writer is inclined to find the explanation in economic and cultural status rather than in racial prejudice. In no land do those who enjoy large incomes, who have the cultural advantages which wealth gives, and who live in palaces, comparatively speaking, cultivate social relations with persons of small incomes and inferior culture even of the same race. This is especially true if they are relatively uneducated immigrants and day-laborers. Caucasians of lowly economic and cultural status in Hawaii (Portuguese, Spaniards, American sailors and soldiers and day laborers) manifest much less race-exclusiveness than those who enjoy high economic and cultural advantages. Does not this show that the real basis of much so-called race-prejudice is not a matter of race but of social status? The barriers are economic, social and cultural rather than racial.

As the decades pass and a considerable group of non-Caucasians attains economic prosperity comparable to that of the Whites, and especially as the children of the third and later generations of these prosperous non-Caucasians, well educated in colleges and Universities and fully possessed of the finest culture of the Occident, appear in society, the writer does not believe that social lines will continue to be drawn on racial lines. We are at present in too early a stage of the socio-racial development in the Islands to pass any hard-and-fast-judgment on the question of race-prejudice as a permanent factor in the life of the Islands. Too many powerful influences are working against it.

The writer by no means denies that at present it may be found here and there, especially among the self-conscious high-brows of every race. It is, moreover, being constantly imported and stimulated from the mainland. The surprising thing is not that there is some of it but that there is so little. The whole trend of society and the conscious and unconscious purpose of so many of Hawaii's social and welfare institutions is so definitely set against racial superiority complexes and prejudices that one finds it difficult to believe that such as now are will long continue or that they will have any real influence in preventing the rise in due time of a truly homogeneous people.

The expression of race prejudice which has most deeply affected the Japanese is the Asiatic Exclusion Law adopted by Congress in 1924. To an extent that few Americans realize it embittered the entire Japanese race. It has given to Japanese militarists and jingoists in Japan a powerful ground of appeal to the masses. America's wanton, unilateral, ungentlemanly abrogation of the Gentleman's Agreement for the regulation of immigration to the United States, largely shattered Japan's confidence in America's moral idealism. It no doubt had much to do with her re-assertion of her Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, with her unilateral abrogation of various international treaties and with her high-handed procedures in China.

For a few years Hawaiian-born Japanese youth did not appear to have been particularly affected by these various political events. These youth, however, are beginning to discover that although they are loyal American citizens they are not fully treated or regarded as such, and are more or less under suspicion especially when they go to the mainland. Propaganda from Japan, moreover, is also said to be instilling into their minds the resentments and the national pride that are now so rampant in Japan. America little appreciates the injury to international and inter-racial relations still being done by that utterly needless expression of race prejudice.

The Proposal for a Commission Form of Government

Another hindering factor is the suggestion for a Commission Form of Government in place of the present Territorial Government. It is made allegedly in the interest of adequate national defense. This proposal, quite surprisingly, is not being urged by the higher military and naval officers located in the Islands but chiefly by visitors, politicians, and government officials from the mainland. Seeing here the great preponderance of Orientals, and especially Japanese, and without understanding the actual situation, they somehow instinctively feel that this conglomerate, colored population is not fitted for a democratic form of government and that they cannot be trusted to be really loyal in time of war. They accordingly argue that in the interest of "security" a Commission Form of Government is needed. The higher military officers here not only do not urge the proposal but positively disapprove it.

The Hawaiian Islands, advocates of the plan point out, constitute the westernmost frontier of the United States. They lie far out in the Pacific, making them by their very position a stragetic out-post of exceeding importance in the American system of national defense. They afford a wonderful base from which to defend the entire Pacific coast, from the Isthmus of Panama to Alaska. Pearl Harbor, a few miles west of Honolulu affords superb anchorage for the entire American Navy. The naval forces permanently located here number about 5,000. Schofield Army Post, a few miles further west, is the largest Post in the United States having some 15,000 men and officers.

With regard to this general situation we remark first of all that the rank and file of this naval and military community come to the Islands quite unfamiliar with the Island point of view regarding race-relations. Thousands of them are young men, unmarried, far from home and in the midst of the population predominantly brown and yellow, toward whom they have a pronounced superiority complex. They constitute a community largely by themselves, especially the enlisted men in the barracks, quite apart from the general life of the Islands, although many of the higher officers have their homes in Honolulu and participate, more or less, in the social life of the city.

Now in the event of war with Japan a tense situation would at once arise. A large section of the population would come under acute suspicion and restraint. Martial law would be immediately declared and civil rights suspended. Three groups among the Japanese would no doubt develop—one of loyal American citizens; a second of patriotic Japanese nationalists; the third—probably a large majority—of cautious neutrals, waiting to see the trend of events before declaring their attitudes. It would often be difficult to know in individual cases to which group they really belong, a situation similar to that which arose in the United States at the time of the World War in regard to the German population. To be instantly prepared for such a situation here in Hawaii, not a few believe that a Commission Form of Government is essential.

So long, however, as peace between the United States and Japan is maintained and wholesome policies are carried on, the number of loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry will steadily increase, while the number who adhere doggedly to their Japanese nationalism will steadily decrease.

The writer has been assured that the higher officers in the Army and Navy no longer "view with alarm" the present and prospective racial situation. Many of them are known to be earnest advocates of peace. But of course it is their duty to see to it that preparations for defense under any contingency are adequate. It is their duty to be on the lookout for and to piece together slight indications and apparently trivial rumors that might possibly be the first intimations of a developing menace. War with Japan is ever in their consciousness and a frequent subject of conversation. This, however, is one of the obstacles to the best interracial relations. American citizens of Japanese ancestry are keenly aware of the fact that they are more or less suspected. They are not given positions in the Army and Navy. They are compelled to realize that although they are American citizens they are not always treated as thoroughly dependable citizens, as are other Hawaiian-born youth of foreign parentage. This consciousness is a serious handicap.

It is out of this general situation that the suggestions for a Commission form of government has come. The desire of a large majority of Hawaii's civilian leaders to secure the status of Statehood has thus far been fruitless. At the hearings before the House Territories Committee, March 31, 1936, when action on Delegate King's Statehood Bill was "indefinitely postponed," President David L. Crawford of the University of Hawaii stated, as reported, that in his belief it was "Vital that at least ultimate Statehood be extended to Hawaii because such action would be most beneficial to citizenship of the young people of the Islands. It would make them far more interested in governmental affairs, both in Hawaii and the nation at large."

The movement for Statehood has recently grown to impressive proportions. In response to Delegate Samuel Wilder King's activities in Congress, a Committee of the House visited the Islands in October, 1935. Its hearings covered every phase of the question. Among the many important documents submitted was a plea for Statehood prepared by a Bi-partisan Committee of Hawaiian citizens, of which President Crawford was Chairman. It set forth the qualifications of the people of the Territory "to assume and carry out the duties and obligations of a State," together with the urgent reasons in the light of which Statehood is being sought.

Were a Commission form of government adopted, the Commission would no doubt consist of military and naval officers and civilians from the mainland having little acquaintance with the aloha spirit and racial ideals of the Islands. Such a step would be downward in respect to democracy. It would deprive many thousand citizens of the right and the educational value of the suffrage. It would place the Islands under a control unsympathetic with, if not positively antagonistic to Hawaiian traditions. It would make the non-Caucasian population feel that the so-called democracy of the United States is not sincere and genuine—that the ideals of the Constitution, of the Declaration of Independence and of the XIVth Amendment, do not include other races than White.

Such a conviction, widely held, would tend to undo the fine results hitherto secured by the remarkable degree to which the ideals of race equality and fraternity have been actually practiced. The young manhood of Asiatic and Hawaiian parentage would feel it a stunning blow were the right of suffrage taken from them. And it should be remembered in this connection that these Islands were not conquered nor purchased by the United States. While they were an independent, self-governing Republic they joined the Great Republic on their own motion (1898). These Islands are neither a "possession" nor a "colony." The U. S. Supreme Court has declared that "Hawaii is an integral part of the United States."[5] Only the gravest danger, obviously imminent, not vague and extremely hypothetical, could justify the abrogation of its self-governing, Territorial status or reconcile its people to so humiliating an action.

Were there any real danger of war with Japan there might perhaps be some plausibility, even though no real justification for the Commission proposal. But, as the writer has shown elsewhere[6] such a danger is practically nil.

War will come only if there is a real conflict of vital interests. Thoughtful consideration of the situation, however, shows that America's policies of the "Open Door" and "the independence and integrity of China" are not of such vital importance to the United States that she would or should fight for them. Japanese immigration to the United States, on the other hand, is not a policy for which Japan will go to war—especially as there is not the least likelihood that she could win in conflict with a superior navy, and 5,000 miles from her nearest naval base. There is, moreover, no vital spot in the United States which Japan could seize and thereby compel the United States to sue for peace. What capitalists, still further, could or would loan to Japan the huge sums necessary to wage a prolonged war that would be practically certain to end disastrously for Japan? The United States, on the other hand, is not going wantonly to provoke a war with Japan that would probably last three or more years, and cost from forty to sixty billion dollars. No profits to be gained by such a war would begin to compensate for its colossal costs and losses.

The inhibitions to an American-Japanese war are truly staggering on both sides when intelligently faced. Japan's statesmen are not fools. They will not lightly risk a war that can end only in stupendous disaster to their nation. A war with the United States under the compulsion of popular opinion instigated by a jingoistic, sensational press is hardly within the range of possibilities, for popular opinion in Japan is extraordinarily accustomed to rigid governmental control, while American popular opinion, on the other hand, is now pretty "hard boiled" because of our experience in and since the World War. It is altogether unlikely that a sensational, jingoistic Hearst press could stampede the American people into a war with Japan as it did into the war with Spain in 1898.

The contingency of an American-Japanese war, therefore, may as well be left out of our Hawaiian picture. If so, proposals for a Commission form of government should be given up and suspicion of the Japanese population in the Islands abandoned. They should have no place in framing national policies and procedures affecting the Territory of Hawaii. So long, however, as rumors, suspicions, and predictions of war continue to excite the sensation-loving press and people on both sides of the Pacific and so long as men who are fundamentally ignorant of the racial situation in these Islands seek to control the policies of the Federal Government, demands for a Commission form of government will doubtless continue to be a disturbing factor.

Economic Competition

Perhaps the most serious obstacle to the unification of the various races in these Islands is economic. Non-Caucasians complain that although in school and college, in welfare-institutions and activities, in politics and sports, interracial relations are satisfactory, an excellent spirit of fellowship bringing the races into happy comradeship, yet when non-Caucasians seek jobs or hope for promotion, Whites get the preference. However long or faithfully Chinese, Japanese, or other non-Caucasian employees may have worked in a given organization, white youth are promoted over their heads and get the best positions.

The resentment caused by such experiences is quite comprehensible. It is human nature. But it embitters the relations of the races. It convinces multitudes of non-Caucasians that the idealistic professions of goodwill speeches and the apparently fraternal relations of the races are in reality superficial—nay, hypocritical. Caucasians, they assert, are banded together to take the cream. The others get only skimmed milk. Race-solidarity and race-prejudice, which professedly have been abandoned, show their ugly faces in business life, causing grave and inevitable heart-burnings and resentments. More and more will they do so, these critics declare, as economic competition becomes keener—as it is bound to do—when the tens of thousands of youth, now in their teens and twenties, intelligent and well educated, seek economic opportunities in business and industry.

How valid this complaint is and how many individuals have been affected by unfortunate experiences of this nature, are difficult questions to answer. Undoubtedly there is some basis in fact for the complaint. But also undoubtedly many non-Caucasian youth have secured jobs and have been promoted to positions of increasing responsibility and income. Only a detailed survey of thousands of individual instances could give adequate ground for a valid generalization. So far as the writer knows no such survey has been made.

But even though the complaint may not be justifiable as a whole, there have been, no doubt, sufficient instances to give the impression to those who meet such experiences and also to those who are constitutionally disposed to be critical, to give the complaint wide circulation. A few glaring cases, reported from mouth to mouth, easily become exaggerated and generalized. The stories naturally are not limited to the race in which the experiences took place but circulate among all non-Caucasians.

In regard to this situation several considerations should be noted. Non-Caucasian youth, for instance, who see Caucasian competitors promoted over their heads naturally find it difficult to believe that those promoted are better qualified than themselves, especially if they have been in the business longer than the white competitor. They quite naturally attribute their own lack of promotion to race prejudice. Yet they may be quite mistaken, for they probably fail to realize their own handicaps, especially if they have secured high grades in school and college. They no doubt thought that high academic standing, free use and genuine command of English, would insure good jobs and rapid promotion; but they did not appreciate the fact that academic standing signifies only academic ability which is strictly intellectual. School education does not determine the entire personality. This includes the emotions and the will, which are even more important than the intellect. School education cannot supply what only the home gives to a child in his pre-'teen years—instinctive appreciation of the innumerable, subtle implications and connotations of the English language and certain intangible elements of character, intuitions, "instinct" and insights which are so important in the make-up of personality and character and in preparing one for every day life. An Oriental home fits a child for life in the Orient while an Occidental home fits him for life in the Occident. This handicap, however, will doubtless be overcome for children of the third and later generations, born into English-speaking homes which have absorbed Occidental culture. They will speak the language "as to the manor born," Occidental culture and religion being instinctive and unconscious.

It is also to be borne in mind that Caucasian youth also often meet with the same disappointments. Promotion of new-comers over old-time employees frequently occurs even when no race-problem complicates the situation. Nepotism and favoritism are well-known practices in every land and in every business. These irritating practices, moreover, are not limited to Whites and absent from other races. Favoritism is a universal human trait.

But it is also to be remembered that business leaders in charge of large enterprises are constantly on the watch for men of exceptional ability and special qualifications. These they promote to higher and higher positions over the heads of other employees who may have been in the business much longer. Those who fail to be promoted, unaware of the special qualifications of those who are promoted, doubtless think the promotion of the latter is due to favoritism, yet their thought may be quite mistaken. It is highly important for the best interests of the Islands that employers, just as far as practicable, should open doors of opportunity to Hawaiian-born youth rather than to new men brought in from the mainland. Only when no one can be found here competent to fill a given position should resort to the mainland be considered. This, I understand, is the policy and practice of the Department of Public Instruction.

The writer has gained the impression that some at least of the business leaders of these Islands are well aware of this disturbing factor and are honestly seeking to overcome the evil complained of. So far, however, as the writer can see, the disturbing effect of economic competition on the making of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race is likely to continue for many years. Yet he believes that the favorable forces making for the mental, moral, spiritual and physical blending of the races are so many and so active, as shown in preceding chapters, that there seems to be good reason for holding that they surely will prevail in the end.

A Possible Invasion From the Mainland

The final hindering factor to be considered is more or less hypothetical. A tendency has been developing during recent years for citizens from the mainland to make these Islands their permanent home, much as people from the Eastern States have flooded into Florida and California. Few of these new-comers participate in the life of the community, except as purchasers and as employers of labor. Many of them come from California and the Southland, possessed by strong race prejudices and the "nigger-complex," which renders it exceedingly difficult for them to regard and treat the non-Whites here on a basis of racial equality and with the "aloha spirit of Hawaii." Should the number of these non-assimilated new-comers increase rapidly, it is conceivable that in the course of two or three decades a hundred thousand, more or less, of such people might settle here. What their influence would be on Hawaii's racial relations and problems can hardly be forecast.

In the eighties of the last century speculation predicted a Hawaii dominated by Chinese. Two and three decades later lugubrious prophets were declaring that these Islands would not only be dominated by Japanese but would be annexed to the Japanese Empire. Both these dire predictions now look fantastic.

While it is unwise to assume that the present factors shaping the racial relations here will always remain unchanged yet we can look forward to the future only on the basis of the forces that have been and are now at work here. On this basis it seems fairly safe to say that the apparent obstacles to a wholesomely developing people are not so serious as they appear on first consideration and that the prospects are fairly promising for the genesis of a new human type—the Neo-Hawaiian-American race.

Appendix to Chapter XI

The Essentials of Christianity and Buddhism

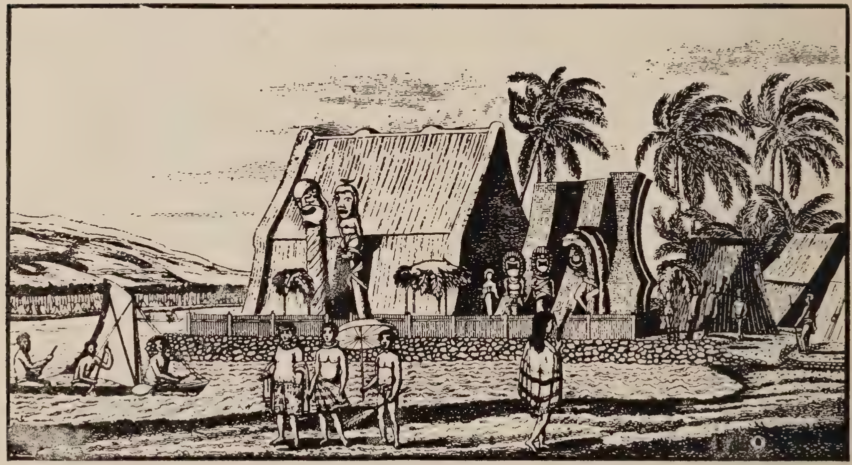
What is the essential nature of Christianity? And what is the essential nature of Buddhism? What is it in Christianity, possession of which constitutes one a Christian and lack of which denies him the right to call himself a Christian? And what is it in Buddhism, possession of which constitutes one a Buddhist and lack of which makes him not a Buddhist? While such profound questions may not be adequately answered in a paragraph or two, yet the main outlines of such an answer may be indicated.

The essence of Christianity is not, in my judgment, any specific doctrine, dogma, ritual, organization or institution, nor any definitely prescribed manner of life. It is, on the contrary, a particular spirit and temper of life based on the spirit, ruling conceptions and example of Jesus. Love—love of God and love of man was His one, mastering motive. Ultimate Reality He intuitively conceived as Heavenly Father, to whom He prayed and to whom He taught His disciples to pray. To love God, to do His Will, to seek to establish His Kingdom on earth as it is in heaven—this was Jesus' supreme and only purpose in life. He was not interested in metaphysics. He was thoroughly objective, positive, constructive, realistic, and fundamentally optimistic. To Him, man's supreme evil is sin—seeking one's own will instead of that of the Heavenly Father. Jesus' supreme interest was practical and ethical—the promotion of the good and abundant life for all men. This in my opinion is the essence of Christianity. Possession of this spirit and motive and mental attitude and mode of life makes one a Christian—a disciple of the Christ. Lack of these characteristics leaves him a non-Christian.

The essence of Buddhism, on the contrary, lies in the acceptance of a definite set of doctrines—the Four Noble Truths, a definite mode of life—the Holy Eight-fold Path, and a definite metaphysical attitude toward the outer world of the senses, based on the specific teachings and example of Sakyamuni. Suffering and sorrow were to him man's supreme evil. Compassion for sufferers was his supreme emotion. Saving of sufferers from their sufferings was his supreme objective in life. This salvation, however, is to be obtained by one's own unaided effort, by realizing the fundamental illusions created by desire. The road to cessation of desire and thus of suffering is one of negation, of selfsuppression. To Buddha there is no Heavenly Father, no social goal like the Kingdom of God, no program for social betterment. Sakyamuni was introspective, negative, unrealistic and profoundly pessimistic. He did not pray and taught his disciples not to pray.

This in my opinion is the essence of Buddhism. Possession of this spirit, mental attitude and motive of life makes one a Buddhist—a disciple of the Buddha. Lack of these characteristics leaves him a non-Buddhist.

If these characterizations of the essentials of Christianity and Buddhism are correct it follows that both in Hawaii and Japan Buddhists are giving up essential Buddhism and are adopting essential Christianity. Although Buddhists as a rule do not acknowledge their debt to Jesus—probably because they do not realize it—yet as a mere matter of fact, it is His spirit of active love and His positive social program, His optimism, His attitude toward nature and God that are increasingly accepted by Buddhist teachers and believers.



An Ancient Temple (Heiau) and Idols at Kailua, Hawaii, destroyed, probably in 1819, by order of the Queen Regent, Kaahumanu.

Chapter XII

Looking Toward The Future

STUDY of the past and present has value as it throws light on the future and suggests courses of action that may help to make the future better than it otherwise might be. What light then does our study throw on the future of the Hawaiian Islands and what are the suggestions that grow out of this study, regarding educational, social and political activities?

Probable Physiological Characteristics of the Coming Race

The physiological characteristics of the coming race may perhaps be (very roughly estimated) at ten percent Hawaiian, twenty percent Caucasian, forty percent Japanese, ten percent Chinese, fifteen percent Filipino, and two percent Puerto Rican.

The complexion of the new race will doubtless be lighter than that of the present Hawaiians with a tinge of the characteristic Asiatic yellow. The eyes as a rule will be dark or brown, with occasional blue or grey, and will probably be more open and less oblique than those of the average Chinese or Japanese. The nose will doubtless approximate the relatively high Hawaiian and Caucasian types.

If the discussion on pages 40-48 is supported by further study we may confidently expect the new race to be in height and weight about the average of the parental races, taking their numerical ratios into consideration. But with reference to their psycho-physical characteristics (muscular vigor and strong determination) the offspring of mingled ancestry will measure up well toward the best of their parental races. Indeed, in some respects they may even surpass them.

Certain qualifications, however, will probably have to be made with respect to height and weight. Recent experiments carried on by the Queen's Hospital show that when infants and young children are fed on a diet consisting of milk, sweet potatoes, fruits, vegetables and poi, giving an "alkali base," in place of the customary Asiatic diet in which rice predominates, which gives an "acid base," not only are serious dental troubles eliminated, which was the special subject of investigation, but children even of Japanese parentage grow to be taller and to weigh only a little less than the standard average for white children. Should further tests confirm these early results and should the nutritional education of the population generally lead it to adopt the "alkali-base" diet for their children, the Neo-Hawaiian-American race may be expected to be relatively tall and heavy, comparing favorably with the Hawaiian and Caucasian races. According to recent studies the average male Japanese University students are already about two inches taller than their fathers.

Probable Psychological Characteristics

Should the conclusions reached by Professor Porteus regarding the psychological race differences and their inheritance by persons of mingled ancestry (see Chapter IV) be confirmed by further research, the Neo-Hawaiian-American race will hold high rank for its I.Q. It will compare favorably with the best in respect to school learning capacity, mental alertness, determination, pluck and initiative.

We remark in passing that just as the American people are derived from the more energetic, adventurous, plucky and determined men and women from Great Britain and Europe who pulled up their stakes in the old countries and ventured to the new continent, becoming the progenitors of the Neo-Caucasian race in the United States, so the Oriental population in Hawaii is derived from the more energetic, adventurous and determined Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Filipinos, who left their old countries and came on the great adventure to Hawaii and are making their contributions to the Neo-Hawaiian-American race now beginning to appear.

Probable Ethical Characteristics

Since the biological and psychological basis of the coming race are distinctly favorable, there is every reason to expect that the new race will possess high standards of social and moral life. Yet this characteristic will not come as surely and automatically as will the biological characteristics. For moral characteristics depend, not on biological heredity, but on social, economic, political and religious conditions in the community in which the growing children are reared. The fine control of their children by the Japanese family, for instance, is not a matter of biological but of social inheritance. Whether Japanese families of the second and later generations will maintain the high standards set by the first generation, under which the Japanese racial group in these Islands is making such a remarkably fine record, remains to be seen. As the Japanese become "Americanized" the probability seems to be that their family life will become more and more like that of the American people as a whole, which will mean the lowering of standards and achievements.

In the light of these considerations the urgent importance of maintaining at a high level of efficiency the character-building institutions of the community is obvious. These institutions include not only the public schools with their emphasis on an all-round development of personality and specific effort in character-building, which emphasis undoubtedly needs to be strengthened, but also and especially such social agencies as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Palama Settlement, all social welfare and up-lift activities and "sports," by which institutions and activities character is developed, not by formal instruction, but by situations that call forth and establish character-habits on the part of youth. All these institutions need generous support by the community as a whole, supplemented by special large gifts from men and women of wealth. The custom already so well exemplified by Hawaii's leaders of wide social vision and generous financial support augurs well for the future along these lines.

Probable Religious Characteristics

A forecast of the religious characteristics of the coming race may seems fantastic. Yet some clue to what is likely to take place has been given in the preceding chapters.

Buddhists and Shintoists, constitute the largest single group. It consists almost entirely of Japanese. The statistics given in the last chapter show that there are approximately 40,000 Buddhist and 20,000 Shintoists connected with the temples and shrines. How far Hawaiian-born Japanese of the second and later generations will continue to rank themselves as adherents of Buddhism and Shintoism is somewhat problematical. As already noted, since the public schools use the English language as the medium of instruction, inevitably, educated youth of every race are given a general mental attitude fundamentally Christian. But only time will show to what extent adult Japanese of the second generation will be actively connected with Buddhist temples or with Christian churches. Some indication of what is taking place is disclosed in a report, March 1930, on the religious affiliations of the students in the McKinley High School. Condensed statistics of that report are given in the Appendix at the close of this chapter. The general trend seems to be that Japanese youth of High School age are breaking away from the religion of their parents and are either becoming Christian or are giving up religious connections entirely.

We should note, however, that Buddhism and Shintoism are both strongly entrenched in Hawaii—economically, ecclesiastically and socially. Their increasing adaptation to their environment and their sloughing off of idolatry and the grosser superstitions renders them less and less objectionable to Americans and also increasingly attractive to second generation Japanese who have had the full benefit of Occidental education. The high intellectual equipment and attractive personality of many of the Buddhist priests, most of whom have had a University education and are married men with families, are already achieving remarkable results in winning the allegiance of second-generation Japanese. Even if large numbers of Japanese youth remain adherents of Buddhism, their religious life will doubtless consist of Buddhist customs and ceremonials with Christianized ethical conceptions and ideals, rather than of the historic Buddhism of Asia which emphasized fundamental pessimism and highly abstract metaphysics.

Roman Catholics constitute the second largest group, claiming a membership of 113,226. The figures are for 1935. 32,000 are reported as Caucasians and Portuguese, 10,000 as Hawaiians, 10,000 as Part-Hawaiians, 60,000 as Filipinos and 1,000 as Orientals. These figures are obviously rough estimates. In the case of the Filipinos the figure given, 60,000, is impossible since the total number in the Islands according to the Territorial statistics is only 54,688 (1935). The great majority of Filipinos, moreover, come from the northern provinces of Luzon, where, according to statistics issued by the Filipino Government, some 48 percent of the population is Non-Catholic. The estimate, therefore, of 60,000 for Filipino adherents is manifestly too large.

As is well known, the Catholic Church customarily includes as church members the entire family if either parent is a Catholic, and also all baptized infants and children, together with all adults who have once been members whether or not such persons have kept up active connection with the Church. Catholic statistics, accordingly include many individuals who are merely nominal Catholics. Yet the probability is that the majority of such persons hold in a general way to the Catholic system of ideas and ideals.

Protestants constitute the third religious group, claiming some 24,000 members in their various churches. It is to be remembered that Protestants customarily keep fairly accurate lists of adult members, from time to time dropping those who do not maintain active connections with the local church in which their membership is recorded. Only those are regarded as "members" who have joined on confession of personal faith. Children, merely because they have been baptized, are not counted as members. It has been found by much experience on the mainland that the figures for Protestant church membership must be multiplied by 2½ in order to be comparable with the figures of Roman Catholic membership. On this basis the Protestant population of the Territory is about 60,000.

The numerically inferior place now held by the Protestant churches may be accounted for by the following considerations: (1) The early withdrawal (1863) of the American Board, feeling that its task had been accomplished; (2) The rapid numerical decline of the Hawaiian population from about 100,000 in 1840 to barely 21,000 at present; (3) The passing away of the great reforming Hawaiian leaders and chiefs; (4) Also the passing away of the missionary "fathers" to whom the people had looked for spiritual guidance; (5) The paganizing activities of royalty during the closing decades of the last century; (6) The coming of scores of thousands of Chinese, and Japanese, and of Spaniards, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos who were already Catholics when they came; and finally (7) The materialism and neo-paganism that have flooded in from the mainland since annexation. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the Protestant forces have begun to grapple vigorously with the new situation and are moving forward with fresh courage and hope.

Mormons constitute the fourth religious group, claiming, as we saw in Chapter IX, a membership of 13,311 including baptized children. They constitute a very considerable group, having their membership entirely among Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians and Caucasians. The Mormon type of Christianity does not seem to attract the other races in the Islands.

Summarizing the situation it would seem that there are about 80,000 Buddhists and Shintoists in the Territory of Hawaii, about 100,000 Roman Catholics, about 60,000 Protestants and about 15,000 Mormons. This gives a total of about 250,000 who are more or less closely connected with or claimed by the Temples and Churches, leaving about

150,000 who would seem to have no religious connections or interests.

Political Future of the Hawaiian Islands

The most serious menace to the wholesome political development of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race lies in the relations of the United States and Japan. Should the strain in those relations develop to a point where war looms ominously and obviously above the horizon, martial law would probably be promptly declared, general civil rights be abrogated and a large section of the population—Hawaiian-born Japanese no less than alien Japanese—might be subjected to humiliating suspicion, and, quite likely, to deportation to huge concentration camps on one of the smaller islands. Such treatment of second and third generation Japanese who are American citizens would be a crushing blow to their spirit of loyalty to the United States and inflict a mental and moral wound that might continue unhealed for many long years. It would certainly create a cleavage between the Japanese and the other races in Hawaii that would be bound to have unfortunate repercussions on the social life and political administration of the Islands.

But without waiting for the near advent of a possible American-Japanese war, there are those who declare that by way of precaution the Territorial form of Government should be replaced by a Commission form of Government. While such a change would not create as marked or as unfortunate a reaction among second generation Japanese as would the declaration of martial law and the herding of the people into concentration camps, the effect would, nevertheless, be great—a real disaster to the wholesome moral, social and political development of the entire population, as was shown in the preceding chapter.

The establishment of a Commission form of government would constitute a confession that America's high ideals and the universal applicability of its principles to every race and land is impracticable, that democracy is in fact unworkable and untrustworthy. Moreover, the establishment of a Commission form of government would be quite unnecessary; for all that might be thought necessary to do in case of war could be done whether the form of government had been changed or not. And even from the military point of view, it would be better before as well as during a war to have the hearty cooperation of the entire civilian population.

Strenuous efforts should, therefore, be made, by all who wish to have America's high ideals given a fair trial in these Islands, to press for statehood. A Commission form of Government could not fail to alienate and turn into a disappointed, sullen group one third of Hawaii's most vigorous youth. Students of this question should note that practically all the important leaders in the Islands—industrial, economic, financial, and social—Caucasian and non-Caucasian alike—deprecate the proposal for a Commission form of Government. Their judgment should certainly be heeded by political leaders on the mainland.

Economic Future of the Hawaiian Islands

Hawaii's phenomenal prosperity and rapid increase in population have been due to two principal industries—sugar and pineapple. To meet the labor need of these industries plantation managers have imported large numbers of laborers from other lands—peasant Chinese, Japanese, Spaniards, Portuguese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos and others. Tens of thousands of these workers have elected to stay after the expiration of their contracts. They with their children constitute the large majority of the population of these Islands. Experience is showing that the children of these peasant laborers, educated in Hawaii's splendid schools, prefer as a rule not to follow in the toilsome footsteps of their fathers but to seek "white-collar jobs." The general life of the Islands, however, does not furnish a sufficient number of such jobs for the scores of thousands of vigorous and ambitious youth now streaming forth from the schools.

This situation presents a real problem to the industrial and social leadership—insufficient labor for the plantations and a surplus for indoor occupations. As has been shown, it is being frankly and hopefully faced. Plantation managers are so adjusting the conditions of work and life on the plantations that thousands of Hawaiian-born youth have already responded to the plantation calls for workers. Plantation managers are not likely to seek fresh labor importations from other lands but will find all the labor they imperatively need in the rising generation born and educated here. Commenting on this situation a friend cautiously remarks that we will not be confident as to the meaning of increased plantation employment of citizens until a much larger number are adults and until they shall have married and established homes and a social organization of their own. Confidence cannot be based on achievement until that time.

The economic outlook of the on-coming thousands of the Neo-Hawaiian-American race depends, however, in no small degree, on the United States Congress. If it can be led to realize that Hawaii is not a foreign land or even a colony but an "integral part of the United States," and, therefore, is not to be subjected to differential tariffs nor to be exploited or hampered in the interest of big capitalists on the mainland, Hawaii's future is assured.

On the principle that necessity is the mother of invention new types of industry and new varieties of agricultural crops are being developed that will give new openings to enterprising youth. It has recently been found for instance that a certain variety of Irish potato can be raised here and marketed in California some six weeks earlier than similar potatoes raised on the mainland, and can, therefore, secure the high prices paid for early crops. A beginning has been made in developing "homestead agriculture." Frequent and cheap transportation to the mainland, moreover, with diversified production, open large possibilities for energetic, pioneering youth. Hawaii's leaders are eager to encourage such youth to find outlets for their energy and ambition, for these will eventually add materially to the prosperity and happiness of the entire population. The recent annual conferences of hundreds of enthusiastic "Future Farmers of Hawaii" and of "Future Homemakers of Hawaii," constitute decidedly hopeful signs.

Patriotism of the Coming Race

Few experiences surprise visitors to Hawaii more than the enthusiastic patriotism of Hawaii's youth. It is shared by the youth of every racial group. Nor is there any reason to think that if conditions remain favorable this patriotism will diminish. So far as may be forecast the Neo-Hawaiian-American race will be as patriotic a part of the American people as will be found in any section of the mainland.

Historically speaking it was practically inevitable that the Japanese in Hawaii should be enthusiastic nationalists. They naturally shared in the exuberant optimism that developed after the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). Japan's dreams of expanding Empire after that war were altogether natural. But we should remember that Americans also became highly nationalistic in consequence of the World War. A period of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding was inevitable.

It is safe to say, however, that no Japanese in Hawaii now harbors the grandiose dreams of former years that these Islands would soon become a part of the Japanese Empire. Hawaii, the Gibraltar of the Pacific, is now practically impregnable against a naval attack, and no conceivable uprising could seize the Islands and hand them over to some foreign power. Those Japanese who do not like the American system of life and do not wish to have their children grow up as American citizens have, in large part, if not all, left the Islands. The vast majority of those now here are happy in the many privileges which they and their children enjoy—opportunities and privileges which would be difficult to equal in any Oriental land.

Japanese youth, born and educated in Hawaii, unfamiliar with the land of their parents which, when they visit, they often find strange (even disagreeable), trained from childhood in Hawaii's public schools, in loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, joyously singing America's patriotic songs, participating in America's patriotic festivals, and rejoicing in "the land of the free and the home of the brave," several thousand of them already participating through the suffrage in the Territorial Government, constitute as loyal a patriotic group of young Americans as probably can be found anywhere on the mainland. The same spirit of American patriotism is found in the young folk of the other racial groups. They too are unfamiliar with the land of their parents. They too have received the same practical and patriotic education in the schools of Hawaii. They too are enthusiastic Americans.

As we look forward to the political future of the Hawaiian Islands there is every reason to believe that its population will consist of loyal citizens, provided of course that the favorable conditions under which they have been reared continue during the decades ahead. The coming race will be thoroughly American, and patriotic to the core.

The Possibilities of a Super-Race

The congenital endowment of the offspring of the inter-marriage of widely differing races is a question of special interest. The following conclusions have been reached by Professor E. A. Hooten, of Harvard University, in a long and interesting review of recent anthropological studies of the origin and development of the human race—Homo-Sapiens.

> 1. Crosses between races which are physically widely diverse do not result in any diminution of fertility, either in the first filial generation or in their subsequent inbred offspring. On the contrary, miscegenation seems to be attended by increased fecundity.
> 2. No satisfactory evidence has been adduced in favor of the supposition that racial hybrids sprung from wide crosses are inferior in vigor or in vitality to the parent stocks which have produced them.
> 3. The alleged occurrence of physical or mental disharmony in hybrids has not been substantiated by any considerable body of evidence. There is frequently a maladjustment of the hybrid population but it is psychological and not biological.[1]

Equally definite is the judgment of Dr. W. W. Krauss, fellow of the Swedish Academy of Science, who has recently made a special study of race-crossings in Hawaii.

> Nobody, he declares, is bodily or physically defective or superior solely because he is a racial hybrid . . . . Compared with "pure" races, no reduction of the biological fertility of the crosses, either in the first or later generations, has been observed . . . . Not infrequently the crosses correspond to high European or American aesthetical claims. But one finds in the hybrid population also new, hitherto unknown types of beauty . . . . I usually found that the race-crossed population of Hawaii possesses a moral behavior just as good as that of the same social groups of a "pure race" in Europe or America. . . . Hawaii shows that it *IS* possible, even for very different races, to collaborate with each other in friendly forms when only one thing is found—good will. Mankind has something to learn from Hawaii.[2]

Professor H. S. Jennings, also, of Johns Hopkins University, has shown in his recent work on heredity entitled "Genetics," referred to in Chapter IV, that when allied stocks of plants and animals are crossed, "the genes from different sources supplement each other, each stock contributing a vigorous dominant gene for each pair that is weak or recessive in the other." This same principle, he states, applies also to man. In a racially mixed population so wonderfully crossed as that of Hawaii is becoming, the possibility of the appearance of remarkable individuals, even geniuses, is very great.

Specialists in racial questions have pretty generally reached the conclusion that the popular notion that interracial marriages result in offspring essentially inferior to the parent races, "inheriting the bad qualities of both races and the good qualities of neither," is not supported by scientific investigation. The vitality and fertility of such offspring are not impaired, nor are they inferior in psychological characteristics. The real reason for the contrary opinion, and especially for the idea that they suffer from psychological "disharmony" is due to the unfortunate social environment in which such offspring are usually forced to live. In Hawaii, however, the economic, educational, social, moral and religious conditions are all favorable. The unhappy conditions and results so common in other lands are not found in Hawaii. The outlook, therefore, in this Paradise of the Pacific is most promising. It is important, however, that the conditions be kept favorable. This means that the interracial attitudes of equality, goodwill and mutual appreciation must be maintained and that every form of race prejudice and of superiority and inferiority complexes must be vigorously combatted and suppressed.

Professor Hooten concludes his stimulating discussion by observing that Charles Goring "has conclusively demonstrated that English criminals, as a group, are vastly inferior in physical development to the law-abiding population. My own weary researches in ten (American) States are even more decisive. While complete results cannot yet be divulged . . . . it can be positively stated that the biological inferiority of the criminal is no less marked than his economic ineffectiveness and his general stupidity."[3] Professor Hooten regards the humanitarianism of medical science and of social idealism as a real danger to the future of the human race in so far as it serves "to preserve the lives of the weak and the mentally unfit, thereby permitting them to reproduce more of their kind. Thus the average quality of the population is lowered . . . . This well intentioned humanitarianism forces us to expend more and more of our resources for the preservation and increase of that part of our population which is least worthy of existence, and to protect society from the results of its own irresponsible breeding . . . . What we must avoid is a progressive deterioration of mankind as a result of the copious breeding of protected inferiors. We have not the knowledge to breed super-men, but we can limit the reproduction of criminals and mental defectives. Let us cease to delude ourselves with the belief that education, religion, or other measures of social amelioration, can transform base metal into gold. Public enemies must be destroyed—not reformed. We need a biological new deal which will segregate and sterilize the anti-social and mentally unfit. Intelligent artificial selection should replace natural selection."

Students of the racial problem in Hawaii are keenly considering the problem raised by Professor Hooten. Dr. Nils P. Larsen, for instance, Medical Director of Queen's Hospital, writes:—"If the Territorial Government should promptly adopt measures for eliminating the poorer stock (criminals and imbeciles) from each of our races and prevent them from breeding, we would then have a real opportunity for producing something very striking in the direction of a super-race."

"The only dangers," wrote Professor W. D. Alexander in closing his "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," prepared (1891) at the request of the Board of Education for the youth of that day—"The only dangers to this Kingdom are from within and not from without. Vice, intemperance, extravagance, and reckless party spirit are its worst enemies. The hope of the country is in you, its young people . . . . If you grow up self-respecting, law-abiding, loyal to your country, jealous of its honor and proud of its history, it may yet become what it is sometimes called, 'The Paradise of the Pacific.'."

Final Summary

In the light of all the facts and factors, biological, psychological, educational, political, social and religious, which have been presented in the foregoing pages, we conclude that a unique process is going on in the Hawaiian Islands, creating a new human type—

The Neo-Hawaiian-American Race.

Appendix to Chapter XII

Religious Affiliations of Students in the McKinley High School

(Compiled from a report of Commission Number Two of the Association for Religious Research, March, 1930)

TABLE XXVI

Classification by Sex and Religion

	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Buddhist	Mormon	Christian Science	No Religion	Total
Boys	253	50	87	12	9	445	866
Girls	327	113	120	27	13	225	825
	580	163	207	39	22	680	1,691

Classification by Race and Religion

	Total Enrollment	Total Replies	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Buddhist	No Religion
Japanese	1,015	722	187	9	201	325
Chinese	643	393	146	11	6	230
Hawaiian	275	174	85	56	....	33
Anglo-Saxon	230	129	94	17	....	18
Portuguese	80	66	8	55	....	3
Korean	74	53	41	1	....	11
Other Races	44	44	19	14	....	11
	2,361	1,581	580	163	207	631

The total number of replies classified by sex is 1691, while the total number classified by race is 1581. This means that 110 students did not state their race. Of these, as appears from the upper table, 39 were Mormons and 22 Christian Scientists, leaving 49 others who reported their sex but not their race.

In addition to the 1691 who made replies there were 670 who did not. Caution therefore is needed in drawing general conclusions.

TABLE XXVII

Religious Affiliations of Parents

	Protestants		Buddhists		No Religion	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Pupils	253	327	87	120	455	225
Both Parents						
Protestant	38.3	30.8	....	....	2.6	1.7
Buddhist	11.8	8.2	68.9	69.1	20.2	18.2
No Religion	16.6	16.2	3.4	2.5	35.1	37.3
Doubtful	9.1	8.2	3.4	.8	16.9	16.0
Father, no Religion Mother, Protestant	3.2	6.1	....	....	.7	....
Father, no Religion Mother, Buddhist	1.6	7.0	18.3	2.2	11.2	12.4
	80.6	76.5	94.0	74.6	86.7	85.6
Religion of Parents not Indicated	19.4	23.5	6.0	25.4	13.3	14.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The figures in the table on page 213 are percentages. For example. Of the 253 Protestant boys 38.3 percent have both parents Protestant, while of the 327 Protestant girls 30.8 percent have both parents Protestant. Of the 253 Protestant boys and 327 Protestant girls, however, 16 percent have both parents with no religious affiliations, while 11.8 and 8.2 percent, respectively, have both parents Buddhist. There are no Buddhist youth of either sex who have both parents Protestant, nor any Buddhist youth (boy or girl) who has a Protestant mother. In general it may be said that so far as the youth in the McKinley High School are concerned Protestantism is gaining adherents both from Buddhism and also from the non-religious group. It is to be regretted that similar figures are not available for Roman Catholics and Mormons.

TABLE XXVIII

Supplementary Statistics

Population, Territory of Hawaii
June 30, 1937

Racial Descent	*Totals*	*Citizens*	*Aliens*	*Births*
Hawaiian	21,389	21,389	....	328
Part-Hawaiian	39,157	39,157	....	2,084
Caucasian-Hawaiian	19,890	19,890	....	786
Asiatic-Hawaiian	19,267	19,267	....	1,298
Caucasian	90,104	85,956	3,297	1,319
Portuguese	30,130	28,507	1,623	529
Spanish	1,233	1,051	182	13
"Other Caucasian"	57,890	56,398	1,492	777
Asiatic	238,511	156,126	82,385	4,831
Chinese	27,657	23,246	4,411	468
Japanese	151,141	113,289	37,852	3,118
Korean	6,678	4,269	2,409	102
Filipino	53,035	15,322	37,713	1,143
Puerto Rican	7,529	7,529	....	173
All Others	876	799	77	28
Totals	396,715	310,956	85,759	8,763
Military Population (roughly estimated)	30,000			

Puerto Ricans, accurately speaking, are a highly mixed group of Spanish, American Indian and Negro ancestry.

This table supplements Table I on page 31.

Appendix

References to Sources

FOREWORD

[1] May 3, 1936.

CHAPTER I

[1] Orientals in American Life. Albert W. Palmer. p. 103. Another highly valuable book by Dr. Palmer which deals with Hawaii and its racial problems is his earlier volume, "The Human Side of Hawaii" (1924). Brief, vivacious and well illustrated, it is full of accurate historical information and is characterized by keen insight, common sense and wisdom.

[2] Hawaii's Racial Dynamite Put Down as Applesauce. Honolulu Star-Bulletin. September 20, 1934.

[3] Report Ninth Annual New American Conference. p. 20.

CHAPTER II

[1] Based mainly on Encyclopedia Britanica, 14th Edition. "Hawaii".

CHAPTER III

[1] Interracial Marriage in Hawaii. Professor Romanzo Adams. cf. especially Chapters V, VI, and VII. This scholarly volume of 350 pages "presents a complete picture of the races, their cultural backgrounds and their marriage tendencies."

[2] The Unorthodox Race Doctrine in Hawaii, in a volume of collected papers, entitled Race and Culture Contacts, edited by E. B. Reuter. p. 151.

[3] Ibid. p. 152-3.

[4] Interracial Marriage. Adams p. 55.

[5] Adams, in Race and Culture Contacts. pp. 156-7.

[6] Orientals in American Life. Palmer. p. 116.

CHAPTER IV

[1] Anti-Missionary Criticism. Hon. Walter F. Frear. p. 6.

[2] Peoples of Hawaii. Adams. p. 8.

[3] Ibid, p. 10. [4] Ibid, p. 13. [5] Ibid, p. 26. [6] Ibid, p. 27. [7] Ibid, p. 19-20. [8] Ibid, p. 20. [9] Ibid, p. 22-24. [10] Ibid, p. 31.

[11] Interracial Marriage. Adams. p. 113.

[12] Psychology of Primitive Peoples. Professor S. D. Porteus. p. 346.

[13] Human Studies in Hawaii. Porteus. p. 101.

[14] Ibid, p. 92. [15] Ibid, p. 91. [16] Ibid, p. 93. [17] Ibid, p. 93.

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[19] Human Studies. Porteus. p. 94.

[20] Ibid, p. 95. [21] Ibid, pp. 101-2.

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[23] Genetics. Professor H. S. Jennings. pp. 292-3. [24] Ibid, p. 121.

[25] Human Studies. Porteus. p. 100. [26] Ibid, pp. 96 and 98.

CHAPTER V

[1] Peoples of Hawaii. Adams. p. 42.

[2] Compiled from the Biennial Reports.

[3] For a comprehensive survey, cf A Study of Public Education in Hawaii. Professor Thayne M. Livesay, 1932.

CHAPTER VI

[1] Peoples of Hawaii. Adams. pp. 16-17. [2] Ibid, p. 18.

[3] In a personal letter from Professor Adams, May 18, 1935.

[4] Ibid, May 15, 1935.

CHAPTER VII

[1] The Friend, April, 1932.

[2] History of Recreation in Hawaii. Commissioner A. K. Powlison. p. 95.

[3] The Human Side of Hawaii. Albert W. Palmer. p. 74.

[4] Paradise of the Pacific, December 1925, p. 109.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] Anti-Missionary Criticism. Frear. p. 4.

[2] Hawaii—A Pageant of the Soil. Jean Hobbs. pp. 88 and 101.

[3] Orientals in American Life. Palmer. p. 120.

[4] The fascinating story of The Chiefs' Children's School by Mrs. Mary Atherton Richards, reproduces the letters and journals of her grand parents, Mr. and Mrs. Amos Starr Cooke, with illuminating collateral material and many illustrations.

[5] From the Rules and Regulations of the Board and Instructions to Missionaries, quoted by Mr. Frear in his Anti-Missionary Criticism, p. 11.

[6] Ibid, p. 15.

[7] Professor Henry P. Judd, in an address on the Character of the Missionaries, April, 1936.

[8] Memoir of Keopuolani. Rev. W. Richards. Published in Boston, 1824.

[9] Ibid, p. 30. [10] Ibid, pp. 30-31.

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CHAPTER IX

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[2] Ibid, pp. 46-47.

[3] Anti-Missionary Criticism. Frear. p. 16. [4] Ibid, p. 46.

[5] Yzendoorn, p. 238. [6] Ibid, p. 212.

[7] Directory (Mormon Mission), 1934. p. 13.

[8] For the full story and large quotations from his Diary, see the Directory, pp. 11-20.

[9] The Friend, May, 1935.

[10] The Hawaiian Islands Today, 3rd Edition. p. 1.

CHAPTER X

[1] Hawaiian Buddhist Annual. 1934. p. 109.

CHAPTER XI

[1] Statehood for Hawaii. Hearings, October 7-18, 1935. H. R. 3034. p. 81.

[2] Ibid, pp. 81-82.

[3] Hawaiian Buddhist Annual. 1934, p. 36.

[4] See footnote at end of Chapter X.

[5] 190 U. S. 197.

[6] Toward Understanding Japan. S. L. Gulick. Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XII

[1] Sigma Xi Quarterly, March, 1935.

[2] Mid-Pacific Magazine, October, 1935.

[3] Sigma Xi Quarterly, March, 1935.

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